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Al-Fajr is pleased to announce the inclusion of the *Palestine Human Rights Newsletter* as a supplement to this issue. We encourage our readers to read and subscribe to PHRC publications which report on human right violations in the occupied territories.

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TO OUR READERS:

In compliance with the Israeli military authorities, and under the guise of the much criticized "Emergency Regulations" of 1945, Al-Fajr is required to submit all material prepared for publication in this weekly, and also in the Arabic Daily and Bi-Weekly Hebrew Edition, to the Israeli censorship authorities, who use this blanket authority excessively. The material appearing on pages labeled with letters has all been censored and expunged by the Israeli authorities. We found it necessary and relevant to publish it on these pages in the foreign edition.

MILITARY SPOKESMAN CLAIMS DEATH DUE TO HEART ATTACK

Bidya Man Shot Defending His Land

Bidya farmer Ibrahim Ahmad Aqra', 57, was shot dead May 2 by Israeli border guards, as he stood unarmed on his land before Israeli settlers' bulldozers. Two other villagers were wounded, and nine arrested in the incident. The land in question is currently being litigated. No final decision has been handed down in the year-long controversy over landownership; Israel has the area slated as Elkana D settlement in official plans.

Details of the incident are sparse as Bidya, in the Nablus district, is curfewed and witnesses arrested. According to the landowner's attorney, Aqra was killed as he stood before bulldozers in an attempt to prevent them from digging on his land. Residents who witnessed the incident told him that Aqra' was shot in the head and died instantly. Two other landowners from the same family were injured: Ahmad Abd al-Rahim Aqra' was shot in the abdomen, and Ahmad Aqra' was wounded in the leg. After the clash an official Israeli military spokesman claimed that Ibrahim Aqra' died from a heart attack. The spokesman admitted that the two relatives were wounded by gunfire. Border guards took all eyewitnesses to the military compound and slapped a curfew on the village. According to reports leaked from the area, all male residents under the age of 60 were ordered to assemble in a local school yard. After calling the curfew, soldiers took the two wounded men to Meir Hospital, Kfar Saba, for treatment. They were held there under 24-hour guard. An official at the hospital's information desk told *Al Fajr* that they 'do not have these names on file.' Nurses told an *Al Fajr* reporter, however, that several Arabs had been treated for gunshot wounds.

The dead man was transferred to Abu Kbir Government Hospital in Jaffa for autopsy. No autopsy report has been made public.

The confrontation between Bidya farmers and Israeli settlers began one month ago when employees of the Elkana settlement-based GAL development company began work on the land. There have been almost daily clashes since then, as the Palestinian farmers resorted to standing in the bulldozers' path to stop their progress.

Less than two weeks ago the landowners obtained an order *nisi* from the Nablus Magistrate Court prohibiting all work on the land, until the court rules on the question of ownership. The settlers ignored the court order and intensified their work by sending in more bulldozers and trying to work day and night, locals say. Residents report police inaction encouraged the settlers to continue working. Lawyer Taha, who owns land in the village himself, said that police refused to carry out the court order on the pretext that the landowners do not possess official maps for the land. Taha slammed the police's response and said that "police (are there) to carry out a court order, and not to be concerned with details of the case."

According to Bidya villagers, the land controversy started one year ago, when local land dealers defrauded two residents into selling their land. Two plots, each of 30 dunums, in the Hazima and Sawafit areas were resold to Israeli speculators shortly afterwards. When the land dealers published a land registration notice, they beefed up the total land area to 600 dunums. This step, in effect, forcefully annexed more than 30 residents' property to the original 'sale'. The landowners discovered the deal only last month when the settlers began to excavate the land.

Experts on land dealer activities say that during the month of March alone at least 16 questionable deals were carried out in the West Bank.

Israeli Knesset member Yair Tesban, from Mapam, asked for an investigative committee to be established to look into the shootings. An editorial in the Hebrew daily *Haaretz* criticised the GAL company for ignoring the order *nisi* and continuing work on the land.

JORDAN TO RESTRICT PALESTINIANS

Official Jordanian sources say restrictions on the movement of Palestinians from the West to the East Bank are to be introduced, an *Agence France Presse* correspondent reported, April 30. The restrictions are, "in the interests of the West Bank and Jordan inhabitants," the source said.

Under the new procedures, West Bank residents are not allowed to work in Jordan. West Bank visitors will have to fill out a questionnaire giving reasons for their visit, the persons they want to meet and the length of stay. Appellants for the renewal of their Jordanian passports have to obtain a certificate of good conduct from the Jordanian security authorities.

The source also said the Jordanian authorities are still studying procedures for the transfer of agricultural and industrial goods. No date was given for the implementation of these procedures.

Jordanian political sources told AFP that these procedures will not cause undue suffering and that they are not being introduced because of the failure of the Jordanian-Palestinian talks. He affirmed that the restrictions will not be imposed on exit or entry permits. Jordan also will not restrict the organised movement of goods from the West Bank to Jordan. The source said "Jordan will thoroughly examine the source of these goods to prevent the infiltration of Israeli goods into Jordan and Arab markets.

Israel Radio reported, May 2, that 25 young men who were forced by Israel to leave the West Bank for at least six months were refused entry to Jordan. Usama Abdo, of Abdo Taxis, told *Al Fajr* that six children were also forced back because they did not have birth certificates. Residents of the West Bank have described these procedures as a kind of indirect pressure against the PLO. Most West Bank mayors refrained from commenting until more details are available.

Afif Khatib, the West Bank directory of employment which is recognised by Jordan, told *Al Fajr* that these procedures are not new. "In 1978, the ministry of work and the occupied territories' affairs made recommendations to discourage workers in the West Bank from emigrating from their homeland." Afif Khatib says he used to approve 25 workers certificates per day. But since 1978 he has signed only 120.

Yacoub Farrah, secretary general of the West Bank tailors union, said that the aim behind Jordan's news is basically to pressure the PLO.'

The chairman of the Chamber of Commerce in Jerusalem, Fayeq Barakat, told *Al Fajr* that these reports are only rumours. "We did not receive instructions from Jordan concerning any change of the nature of work in the West Bank chambers of commerce. Local residents can still take the necessary documents from the chamber as usual."

Bashir Barghouti, the editor of *Al Talia* newspaper said that the new procedures are "the embodiment of previous Jordanian practices and pressures, that are now put in rules and articles of law. Jordan wants to treat the Palestinians in the West Bank according to the rules of the Arab league. All the historic relations between Jordan and Palestine disappeared in one

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Israel Said to Agree to PLO Conditions

Officials from the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine—General Command, (PFLP-GC) claimed May 1 that Israel has agreed to the PLO conditions for a prisoners of war exchange, following the release of a video tape showing the two Israeli prisoners held by the PFLP-GC to be alive and well. The two prisoners had not been seen since their capture on the Beirut-Damascus road more than seven months ago.

In a press conference held in Damascus, May 1, Fadel Shrouro, spokesman for the PFLP-GC, told reporters that Israel had agreed to release 4094 prisoners from Ansar detention camp in South Lebanon, and 1000 more Palestinian prisoners from Israeli prisons, and to return the archives seized from the Palestine Research Centre, last September. Shrouro also revealed that the International Committee of the Red Cross will be responsible for arranging the prisoners exchange.

In an Israeli TV interview, Israeli chief of military personnel Major General Moshe Nativ called the moves part of the psychological warfare being waged against Israel.'

The Damascus press conference was held in order to broadcast the film of the two Israeli prisoners which Israel had demanded. A second film was shown of the Austrian envoy, Herbert Amry, appointed by Chancellor Bruno Kreisky to mediate the POW agreement, visiting al-Ansar detention camp.

Israeli prisoners Nissim Salem, shown on Israel TV. and Yosef Groff, as

The 90-minute film showed excerpts of the daily lives of the two Israeli prisoners. Yosef Groff and Nissim Salem were filmed writing letters to their families, speaking directly to their families, and being interviewed by PLO members. The two prisoners said they were being treated very well, and told their families not to worry. Groff said that they were "receiving good meals, and being provided with books and games."

The second film, which was personally handed over by the Austrian official showed POWs inside Ansar prison, including Fatah officer Salah Ta'mari. The film was one of several preconditions insisted on by Ahmad Jibril's group before releasing evidence of the two captured Israeli prisoners.

The two prisoners were among a group of eight Israeli soldiers captured by a Palestinian guerrilla unit from within the Israeli lines. The remaining six prisoners, held by Fatah, were shown several times on TV and interviewed by various foreign journalists including *Al Fajr's* New York-based publisher, Paul Ajlouny.

SYRIA CLARIFIES CONDITIONS FOR WITHDRAWAL

ROME — Syrian's three irrevocable conditions to withdrawal of its forces from Lebanon as clarified, May 3, to Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo by President Hafez al-Assad are:

1. that the present negotiations conducted by US Secretary of State George Shultz should secure Lebanon's full independence and sovereignty;

2. that Israel should not draw any territorial or military advantages from a final agreement;

3. that such agreement take into consideration Syria's security needs.

On the basis of the latest information at their disposal Assad and Foreign Minister Abd al-Halim Khaddam expressed negative evaluations on the course of the negotiations until now, declaring that present attempts to impose an agreement on Lebanon contrary to its real and vital interests will not be accepted by Syria.

The same view was expressed, May 2, by PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat, who has, since Sunday, been chairing continuous meetings of the Supreme Military Council of the PLO. The council decreed the highest state of alert for Palestinian forces in the Beqa'a. The Syrian army is also holding major maneuvers in the Beqa'a.

Reporters following Colombo's talks in Damascus report that the deployment of a multinational force either UNIFIL or the 'four states Beirut formula' in South Lebanon seems indispensible for a solution acceptable to Syria. Israel opposes such deployment and demands the right to operate indiscriminate police operations of its own in the area at any time. A decision on the multinational force will be taken by Shultz and French Italian and British foreign ministers at a meeting scheduled for Paris, May 10.

TO SOLVE LEBANON'S PROBLEMS

CHAMOUNISTS URGE ISRAEL-SYRIA WAR

Haaretz reported, May 3, that Lebanese Christian leaders, from Camille Chamoun's (National Liberal) party are trying to persuade Israel that the way to a solution of the Lebanese problem is for the Israeli army to launch a massive operation against the Syrians forcing them out of Lebanon and destroying their military infrastructure there. According to them after such an operation. Damascus will agree to join peace negotiations.

The paper added that the efforts of persuasion by these elements has been going on for a long time.

The (Chamounist) elements prepared an elaborate plan in which they explain their outlook as follows: according to them Lebanon cannot sign a more serious agreement with Israel because of the Syrian threat; Israel will face a difficult problem if Syria refuses to withdraw from Lebanon after a Jerusalem-Beirut agreement is achieved. They add that despite the expulsion of the PLO it is not possible to reach any political agreement in Lebanon, as long as Israel is in a state of war with Syria. Also Christian forces cannot achieve anything which emerged from the invasion of Lebanon, because of pressures by non-Christian residents in Lebanon and the Syrian threat.

The solution, according to these leaders, is to force Syria to withdraw from Lebanon: 'This necessitates the encirclement of the Syrian army in Lebanon or the total destruction of its equipment. Through this it will be possible to also destroy what is left for the Palestinian resistance and the Palestinian camps in Lebanon."

Sidon Palestinians Forcefully Evacuated

ROME Thirty-five Palestinian families were evicted by force from their homes or shelters in Sidon and forced to take refuge in Ain al-Hilweh camp, May 20. In Ain al-Hilweh two Palestinian women have been shot to death by "unknown shooters ,according to local police sources.

The forced evacuation of Palestinians from Sidon and surroundings and their forced transfer into the overcrowded refugee camps, which began in January, has strongly intensified in the last few weeks, following the takeover of the old quarters of Sidon by the Abu Arz militia of the "Guardians of the Cedar." While in the earlier stages in January and February the Phalangists and Saad Haddad mercenaries forced out Palestinians from the new areas of Sidon, where many of them had lived for years in owned or rented apartments, the present evacuation regards mainly refugees who had found shelter in precarious constructions, garages or shacks in the old city after their homes in camps or villages were destroyed during the war.

Since January about 3000 Palestinians have been thus forced out of their homes in Sidon and surroundings and into the battered camps, mainly Ain al-Hilweh.

SIX ATTACKS AIMED AT ISRAELI TROOPS

Twelve Israeli soldiers were injured, this week and two tanks and two armoured personnel carriers were destroyed in six separate attacks against Israeli troops in South Lebanon, and near the front lines in the east of the country. Israeli reports say that resistance forces are using sophisticated equipment in their attacks. Meanwhile, Israeli military leaders continued to make verbal threats of a military strike against Syria, charging that "continued military buildup threatens Israel's security."

On May 4, an Israeli military spokesman announced that nine soldiers were injured in two separate incidents. Six soldiers were wounded when a remote-controlled bomb exploded on the Beirut-Sidon road, west of Ba'abda, just as a military vehicle passed. During the week, there were at least two other incidents involving remote-controlled bombs. Earlier in the day, three soldiers were hospitalised after their APC struck a land mine near the town of Ain Zhalta, where Israeli forces have a stronghold in the eastern section of Lebanon. Israeli newspapers assert that during the past few weeks infiltration by Palestinian fighters from Syrian lines has increased.

Briefing the Israeli Knesset Foreign Affairs and Defence Committee, May 4, the new Chief-of-Staff Moshe Levy noted that the "Syrians are in a constant state of alert." Levy said that military intelligence had "no clue" as to Syrian government intentions but he pointedly remarked to the committee members that "there are Soviet advisors stationed with the Syrian forces in Beqa'a."

In Washington, US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger was quoted as saying that he has no information of any Soviet presence in Lebanon.

SCIENCE FAIR HELD AT ABU DIS COLLEGE

Hundreds of West Bankers and Gaza Strip residents visited the Abu Dis College of Science in the Jerusalem district, for its first scientific exhibition and open house, held April 26 to 28. They viewed maths and science experiments and spectacular demonstrations to illustrate the hard work the school puts into training a generation of technicians and scientists.

In the chemistry department, students entertained guests by demonstrating some of the properties of compounds they have studied in the past 10 months. Visitors were shown light-sensitive chemicals which exploded and burned for several minutes in a darkened room.

The science college has 360 students in their first and second years of science and technology courses.

One of the more spectacular exhibits at Abu Dis College of Science fair./JN

Workers'Day Celebrations Limited to Regional Activities

West Bank and Gaza Strip workers commemorated International Workers' Day, May 1, with cultural and athletic activities throughout the major towns but no central festivals were held in Jerusalem or elsewhere, as in previous years. Most activities were limited by unions to their members.

In Nablus, the West Bank Federation of Unions was prevented from carrying out its programme of activities on Workers' Day. Israeli authorities also prevented the Gaza Federation of Workers Union April 30 from convening a forum on work conditions.

The General Institute of Workers in Tulkarm issued a statement April 30 denouncing all forms of harassment initiated against the unions in the occupied territories.

Workers' Day demonstration in Nazareth, May 1.

Jerusalem

Although unions in Jerusalem are more able to hold activities without explicit permission from the authorities unlike, the rest of the West Bank, no major festival was arranged. Unionists told *Al Fajr* that this is mainly due to Israeli harassment and to the absence of unity within the workers' unions in the West Bank.

Rida Abdel Latif a member of the Jerusalem district electric company union, told *Al Fajr* that for the second year the West Bank Federation of Unions decided not to hold central activities for Workers' Day. "Here in the electric company we stuck to the resolutions of the federation, we arranged internal activities and distributed gifts to the workers of the company," Rida told *Al Fajr*.

Similar activities took place in other unions in Jerusalem such as the shoe workers, seamstresses and tailors, blacksmiths and painters unions, as well as workers of Makassed Hospital Tur Athletic and Cultural club and the Printers Union in Jerusalem arranged public festivals in which patriotic songs, and dramatisations of the conditions of the workers in the occupied territories and of ways in which they are exploited were presented.

Yacoub Farrah, the head of the Seamstresses and Tailors Union in Jerusalem, told *Al Fajr* that the military occupation and the general economic and political situation in the West Bank contributed to the unions' inactivity on a day usually heralded with more festivity.

Khalil Tuma, a member in the Jerusalem Hotel Workers Union, explained: "The acts of oppression practised by the Israeli authorities are the main reasons... Secondly, the unions simply did not attempt any activities including our own union, even in a humble way." Tuma told *Al Fajr* that the lack of unity within the unions, the financial situation of some unions in the West Bank which are not able even to cover their expenses and the difficult conditions of the workers in the occupied territories consume their time and energy.

Also in Galilee

Two festivals were held in Nazareth and Kufr Yasif in the Galilee attracting large numbers of people and delegations representing unions and national institutions coming from various parts of Palestine and the Golan. Over 10,000 people attended the festival in Kufr Yasif. The eight speakers talked about the massacres in Lebanon against the Palestinian people and the poisoning in the West Bank. They denounced the Israeli practices in the occupied territories including land confiscation.

12,000 DUNUMS CONFISCATED THIS WEEK

In a series of land confiscations in the West Bank in the past week Israeli military authorities seized more than 12,000 dunums. Meanwhile, residents from the village of Dhahriyeh, south of Hebron, are preparing to take legal action against an order issued several months ago to seize 20,000 dunums.

The most recent land confiscation measure is against four villages from the Nablus area, where a new wave of land confiscation has been underway. According to *Al Quds*, May 3, the Israeli military authorities summoned the mukhtars of the villages of Shufah, Saffarin, Beit Lid, and Kur to the Nablus military compound and informed them of the order confiscating 11,000 dunums. The mukhtars were also told to convey the authorities' order that farmers are now prohibited from entering their lands for any reason.

Two days earlier, the Israeli authorities announced the confiscation of 1300 dunums of land belonging to residents from the nearby village of Kufur Sur. Reports from the village said that the land, which is planted with olive, almond, and apricot trees, is the only source of income for nearly 200 families.

Another report in *Al Quds*, May 2, said that the military governorate in the West Bank authorised the seizure of several dozen dunums of land from the village of Rafat in the Ramallah area. The paper said that the authorities forbade its owners from entering it.

In Beitunia, the Israeli authorities fenced a large land plot adjacent to a military camp located east of the town. The fenced area, which is said to be more than 1000 dunums, was seized some months ago for military purposes. The residents made a court case against the land confiscation measure, but lost it. The court upheld the authorities' claim that the land is needed for military purposes.

Windshields Smashed In Beit Jala

In a repeat of an incident in Hebron, last month, saboteurs smashed the windshields of 22 cars in Beit Jala, April 29. All vehicles parked on a one-kilometre long road, which starts at the Sama'neh quarter, passes the monastery quarter and ends near the church, were damaged. They are unable to identify the saboteurs.

Elias Nazal, a Beit Jala mechanic, said, "At 2:40 am my neighbours woke me and told me the windscreens of my two cars had been smashed. I discovered that the front and rear screens of the two cars were damaged." Elias said he guessed the damage had ocurred about 10 minutes earlier and that the saboteurs had used iron bars. Some residents disturbed the vandals and heard them speaking Arabic. They report that there were three attackers. "One of them said, 'Damn you, we were discovered,' " reported one Beit Jalan. Farid Rabee, a driver chased the vandals but they got away.

A military jeep came to Beit Jala two hours after the attacks but found nothing. Later in the morning police came and questioned vehicle owners about the incident.

Farah Arraj, appointed mayor of Beit Jala, described the vandals as "ugly cowards."

In Hebron, April 11, the windshields of more than 150 cars were shattered in a similar incident.

JERUSALEM LAWYER ROBBED

Unidentified people broke into the house of Jerusalem lawyer Abed Asali, in the East Jerusalem suburb of Beit Hanina, April 28, and stole JD770. The lawyer says that he believes a gang of land dealers, who are accused of involvement in a fraudulent land deal, might be behind it.

The break-in was discovered around 4:00 pm, when his landlords returned from work and found the door open. The side of the wooden door was smashed, apparently with a sharp metal tool. Inside the house, "There were no signs that a burglary had taken place," Asali said. "All furniture was as tidy as w[illegible]hen they inspected [illegible] box which contained JD1[illegible]me [illegible]s th[illegible] found JD770 bracelets and JD230 were left. The family then summoned the police, who arrived very late, according to Asali.

Police lifted fingerprints from the door and the money box. Asali told the police that his only known enemies are a group of land dealers, who are the subject in a court case he is working on. He explained to the police the details of the fraudulent land deal which was arranged some two months ago by Abdallah Odeh, a Jerusalem lawyer, and a resident of Sour Baher known as Iqab Abu Tair.

Asali told *Al Fajr* that he received an indirect threat from Odeh. A third lawyer reportedly conveyed to Asali, Odeh's assertion that he has the Israeli government's backing, after the lawyer told him that he would indict him in the fraud case.

Palestinian Prisoner's Appeal Turned Down

The Israeli Supreme Court in Jerusalem, May 3, turned down the appeal of al-Bireh man Ziad Abu Ain, 24, against his life sentence. Abu Ain was charged with planting a bomb in Tiberias in May 1979.

The Abu Ain case achieved international importance when he was extradited from the US in a unique political case. US jurists expressed extreme disquiet at the decision of their courts to uphold the flimsy evidence against the Palestinian.

He was sentenced in June 1982 in a Tel Aviv district court, one of the few Arabs to receive a civil trial. The verdict was based on a confession of Jamal Hassan Yassin, a Ramallah resident. He later withdrew it saying it was extracted from him under torture. Abu Ain denied the charges and brought witnesses who saw him in Ramallah on the day the bomb exploded. Three judges, headed by Yitzhak Kahan, upheld Yassin's confession.

Ziad Abu Ain

Abu Ain was detained in the US while on a visit to his sister.

CURFEWS ON BALATA AZZA CAMPS

NABLUS SCHOOL CLOSED

Israeli authorities closed a secondary school in Nablus May 4 until further notice following the stoning of a settler's car on the eastern side of the city.

The car, belonging to Elon Moreh settlers, was stoned as it passed near Malek Talal School. Settlers opened fire on the students but no injuries were reported.

On the same day youths in Kalandia camp stoned an Israeli truck and smashed its windscreen.

Israeli authorities imposed a curfew on Qabatya, May 2, after a molotov bomb was thrown at a gas station. Israeli authorities also imposed a curfew on Balata camp, near Nablus, and Azza camp, near Bethlehem, April 29. Israel Radio reported that the curfew extended to both camps because Israeli vehicles were stoned. One Israeli received a head wound, April 26, while travelling near Azza camp.

RACIST INCITEMENT IN ISRAEL

An Alignment leader has put Israel s top lawyer on the spot to formally comment on anti-Arab extremist statements publicly made by government figures and private individuals.

Dov Zakin, chairman of the Alignment's Mapam wing, requested Attorney General Yitzhak Zamir to make a public report on his efforts to combat racist incitement, calling to Zamir's attention recent notorious examples:

Rabbi Meir Kahane (head of fascist Kach movement, and a reservist in the Israeli army) on Israel TV: "A good Arab is a dead Arab;'

The public comment by Israeli ministry of science spokesman Avi Farhan: "There is no room in this region for two nations it's either us or them;"

The latest book (not banned) by popular Israeli writer Ora Shem-Or, in which she advocates expelling Arabs from Israel;

The chant in a recent Gush Emunim march: "We shall ascend the mountains and break the Arabs' heads."

Zakin reminded Zamir that Israel is a signatory to the 1979 international convention on the elimination of racism and is therefore committed to take action against racist manifestations.

Israel has always denied the equation of Zionism and racism in international forums.

THE MATHEMATICS OF WAR

The mystery of the resurrected Israeli war dead deepened, this week, when an Israeli army spokesman released revised casualty figures. According to them, 480 Israelis have died and 2657 wounded since the start of the war, last June.

Two weeks ago, *Al Fajr* revealed that Israeli casualties were falling from 466 dead and 2567 wounded in February to 464 dead and 2500 wounded in April. On May 3 an Israeli military spokesman said that after contradictory reports of casualties they were releasing the revised figures including soldiers killed in road and training accidents. He said 31 soldiers were killed in such accidents since June 1982. The figure for accidental deaths in the past few months is classified.

Commenting on the new figures a mathematician noted that the difference between the new figure and that of a fortnight ago is 16 suggesting a further 15 people who were dead in February and April are no longer included in the totals.

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Jordanian Restrictions

moment. Jordan wants to take advantage of the difficult economic and political situation in the occupied territories to blackmail the PLO politically."

Barghouti asserted that the people in the occupied territories will "foil these procedures through unity," Barghouti said. The call to prevent emigration was a smoke-screen. "For 16 years, Jordan and the steadfastness fund did not prevent a wave of emigration from the West Bank."

Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah, Ibrahim Tawil, mayor of al-Bireh and Mustafa Natshe, acting-mayor of Hebron, all refused to comment on the development until more information is available.

Bassam Shaka'a, mayor of Nablus, commented on the new Jordan restrictions on the movement of West Bank and Gaza Strip residents across the Jordan River bridges: "These procedures cannot be adopted by Jordan only. If Jordan insists on doing so, why then do the Arab states bordering Israel receive steadfastness funds? Jordan does not have the right to issue regulations affecting regional interests; procedures must be adopted by the whole Arab nation. I believe that all that is said about these procedures aim at striking the unity of our people and causing a split in the Palestinian leadership."

Shaka'a affirmed that the Palestinian-Jordanian talks have been underway since 1967, but the talks reached a stumbling block because the Palestinians did not accept the Reagan initiative. This initiative, Shaka a said, harms not only the Palestinians, but also Jordanian interests.

Sit-in strike at UNRWA headquarters May 4./SF

Tireh School Defends Itself Against UNRWA Attack

More than 400 students from various West Bank institutions of higher education and teachers of the UNRWA Training Centre in Tireh held a four-hour sit-in at UNRWA headquarters in Jerusalem, May 4, against a rumour campaign and recent Agency actions which they say "purposely undermine the institute's credibility." The protest was organised in response to a high-level, month-long UNRWA investigation during which students and administration officials of the Tireh institute were questioned about 'unethical behaviour.' No one has been formally accused of any wrong-doing but the principal of the school has reportedly been asked to resign for an alleged "cover-up.'

In February, UNRWA began a closed investigation based on complaints by undentified people about the personal behaviour of individuals at the Tireh centre. The bulk of the investigation by an UNRWA team from Vienna headquarters was carried out in April during the month-long ordered closure of the Institute for political demonstrations. The Tireh administration was not told of any charges, and were excluded from the investigation. According to one teacher, the principal, Mrs. Asia Habbash, was questioned by the UNRWA committee for "administrative irregularities,' and charges of "covering up unethical behaviour in the Institute."

On their return to classes April 23, word quickly spread to students, and faculty from gatekeepers, students and staff who were questioned by the investigative team. The story was broadcast by Israeli TV Arabic news and the Israeli government Arabic language newspaper *Al Anba'*. Sources close to the Tireh centre say Israeli military authorities are deliberately exploiting rumours, calling them facts, and slandering the school.

UNRWA administration has refused to reveal the committee's findings to students and administration officials from the Institute and reportedly were pressuring Mrs. Habbash to resign.

The sit-in marked an escalation of a week of strikes and protests by the 680 students. During the protest, student representatives read aloud statements denouncing the attitude of the UNRWA admininstration, and blaming them for the false rumours about the school. The students demanded that the Agency's headquarters issue an official statement about their activities, explaining their position. Student representatives also met UNRWA officials, and conveyed to them the students demand for a public denial of any unethical behaviour by the students.

In a statement to UNRWA chief of operations in the West Bank, the Tireh Institute's faculty and administration expressed "utmost disappointment at the (accusations of) wrong-doing directed at employees and students." They also demanded that the UNRWA publish a statement to refute rumours.

The union of UNRWA teachers, which also participated in the protest, asserted that the investigation committee and its findings are illegitimate and should be disregarded.

UNRWA operations head Roy Skinner published a statement clearing the students from any charges of unethical behaviour, but declined to say anything about administrators in the institute.

Commenting on the so-called investigation Mahmoud Abd al-Hadi, a teacher in the institute, said that judging by the way events have taken place certain sides are exploiting the issue to undermine the role of the school. He added that the manner in which the UNRWA administration dealt with the alleged complaints was the cause of all the problems.

In reply to written questions submitted by *Al Fajr*, UNRWA's chief of operations Roy Skinner denied that UNRWA had made charges of unethical behaviour against faculty of Tireh centre. Skinner also rejected a call to set up a neutral investigative committee to look into the matter as was suggested by an editorial in *Al Fajr* Arabic daily, May 4. 'I advise that a properly consituted Board of Enquiry investigated certain administrative matters only," he wrote. Skinner insisted that the committee is "in fact neutral." The Operations Director denied charges that the relief agency is trying to undermine and liquidate the operations of academic institutes. He quoted a list of recent improvements to academic institutions in the West Bank which he says "dispels" the accusations.

Tireh Institute is a two-year teacher training and vocational school for women established by the UNRWA in 1962. Its student population of 680 women, the majority of whom are from Gaza, is known for its nationalist activism.

THIS WEEK'S CENSORSHIP

Following is a break down of censorship cuts for issue 157, May 6, 1983:

Number of original articles submitted to censor	19
Number of articles totally censored out	9
Number of articles partially censored but used	3
Number of articles passed	7

The Dawn

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Combatting Racism?

The official Israeli English language daily, *The Jerusalem Post*, published in its May 3 edition an item concerning Israeli racism. The report said that Dov Zakin, chairman of the Alignment's Mapam wing, had asked Israel's attorney-general Yitzhak Zamir for an official report on the latter's efforts to combat racial discrimination and racist incitement in Israel.

Examples given of racist statements were: Kach head Meir Kahane's TV interview when he said "A good Arab is a dead Arab," Gush Emunim's chanting "We shall ascend the mountains and break the Arabs' heads," a book by Ora Shem-Or advocating expulsion of Arabs; and a public comment by the Science Ministry spokesman Avi Farhan that "There is no room in this region for two nations - it's either us or them." But these incidents are just the tip of the nose of the ugly head of racism. We could add several more of the most obvious and official - public and government sanctioned statements hoping it will draw a clearer image:

Israel's Prime Minister Menachem Begin stated last June that the Palestinians are no more than "two-legged animals"

Rafael Eitan, former Israeli chief-of staff, stated last month that "Israel should fill the West Bank with settlements and then these Arabs would be no more than cockroaches turning around in a bottle."

Meir Cohen, deputy chairman of the Israeli Knesset advised two months ago that the parents of stone throwers should be punished and that hundreds of thousands of Palestinians should be expelled.

Racism is not confined to statements. Real life events are even more explanatory. This week an elderly Palestinian was murdered in cold blood because he refused to allow settlers to bulldoze his land. A few weeks ago an elderly woman was beaten unconscious and stabbed because she refused to allow settlers to take her house.

We are confident that Israel's attorney-general does not need to look far for more examples but we are interested in his response. How is he combatting racism in the state of Israel? Indeed how does an Israeli government official combat racism in the Zionist state?

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Every Stone Left Unturned

by Hanna Assadi

There's nothing like a US Secretary of State in the region for keeping the news hounds happy. The 'Search for Peace in the Middle East,' as the present tour is being billed, has now moved from the doldrums of endless meetings in second-rate hotels to five star venues and front page headlines. The beauty of the whole exercise is that nothing substantive has been done or said - the rhetoric merely comes out of the mouths of bigger fish.

The problems of the peace-seekers remain the same as before George Shultz came, last week: they're looking in the wrong place and those they are looking with are after different things.

The Israeli and US press have stressed throughout the week that the ' remaining problems' in the way of an Israeli-Lebanese agreement are:

* Israel wants a military presence in the south of Lebanon possibly in the form of joint patrols — Lebanon rejects it;
* Israel wants a trade agreement Lebanon cannot annul boycott legislation if it is to get reconstruction capital from the Arab world (the US cannot foot the total bill of last year's war),
* Israel wants its ally Saad Haddad to be a senior commander in the south. Lebanon says no.

Will they make it? According to observers travelling with and following the Shultz team — 'Yes and/or no.' The Shultz peace mission is chasing a chimera — and the chimera is chasing its tail. Official spokespeople for all three parties are adept at paying each other compliments but not at revealing details of any kind. In Beirut, May 4, for instance, Shultz went out of his way to say how hard the Lebanese Prime and Foreign Ministers and the President had worked -- on what? 'No comment.'

Back in Jerusalem he had a 'very fine discussion' with Israeli Premier Menachem Begin. And now the Israeli Cabinet will meet to discuss 'very serious, very important' things. This is just a sample: such compliments have been flowing all week. Shultz has surpassed himself and his predecessor Alexander Haig, an acknowledged expert -- in making totally incomprehensible statements. At one point he described his mission as "do-able". On the Haddad question he is quoted as saying "I have a way of getting at that." On Thursday (apropos of what is not clear) 'things are getting to a point where closure on this thing is possible." What all these mysterious "things" are no one is at liberty to tell.

All the while Shultz assures that there will be no pressure exerted on anyone. Therefore, everyone, presumably, will get what they want 'from this thing.'

Israel: more money, troops in Lebanon trade and tourism and an amenable northern neighbour?

Lebanon: US aid, Arab aid, Israel out?

US: A diplomatic victory to take to next year's polls?

Shultz is going to have to come out with some really convoluted senselessness if he is going to square these incompatible circles. And on paper and TV he may well do it- words are very cheap and as he's shown they don't have to mean anything as long as they sound nice. The problem is, of course, that no matter what the words are, peace is not going to break out.

The Shultz plan even with all the cracks papered to hold until after the elections, ignores Syria and more importantly relegates the Palestinians to a position of torture victims in Lebanon, the biggest involuntary donors of land-aid to the Jewish National Fund in the occupied territories and refugees tolerated to a greater or lesser extent in the rest of the Middle East. This situation simply will not prevail and no amount of dollars, weapons and verbiage will make it.

Ultimately all these shuttles, all this breath and all these headlines are irrelevant while they aim to confuse rather than to solve. In the past when the US has painted itself into a corner as it is doing now it has chosen the war option to clear the decks. For all the media coverage that still seems the most likely option.

If anyone in the Middle East thinks this is stretching a point, I suggest a quick glance at the situation in the Caribbean and Central America as a paliative. We are not living the conflict there and have only the headlines to go by. And what do we find? Nicaragua and Grenada, two havens of relative civility in a bloody and barbarous region, are fighting for their lives to keep Ronald Reagan and George Shultz's ' things" from their door.

Reagan and his aides are even accusing their own parliament of being something akin to 'Communist agents' for refusing to finance the latest attempts to impose brutal fascism, which is Reagan's preferred 'thing' in that region. And the US President himself manages to get the world press to entertain his fantasy that Nicaragua's government is somehow illegitimate while the US-backed butchers of El Salvador are great little democrats fighting God-less Communism. What the reporters following Shultz will not ask is what chance for peace in this region with a power like this running rampant.

OPINION

Al Fajr invites our readers to submit letters, opinions and articles. Contributions must be signed, but names can be withheld upon request.

ONE DAY IN THE LIFE OF SAUL FRIEDLANDER

From Passive Pessimism To Apartheid

by Amos Elon

Lebanon / The West Bank / I cannot speak about such things... I will leave politics to the generals...
theories of revolution
read: ch. 6 - Thursday
RA

At noon on (the day Israel celebrated the establishment of the state), before the official ceremony where President Navon gave him the Israel Prize for his "decisive contribution to the study of the Holocaust era, Nazi Germany, and international relations in the twentieth century," Professor Friedlander sat in his car, driving north on the Jerusalem to Ramallah road. On the way you can see blue and white flags on the houses on French Hill and on the military installations in Neve Yaacov. But in Ramallah the atmosphere was strange. Windows and shops were closed. Heavy military patrols moved through the empty streets, and the gloomy sky reflected the atmosphere on the earth; it rained.

Friedlander was on his way to Bracha Mountain (Upper Nablus) to demonstrate with Peace Now activists against establishing a Jewish city in the area. Professor Friedlander worried that he would not be able to get back to Jerusalem in time for his prize from the president, especially when it was forecast that the government ceremony in Nablus would attract a lot of people, as would the Peace Now demonstration. But he was ready to take the risk.

When he was asked about it, he said that he had to come because annexing the West Bank had reached a critical point, as had happened in Yamit. Only this time, people on the West Bank would not be willing to move, even for peace. For Professor Friedlander, it is a very severe and shocking situation, a morally and socially destructive process and a stupid act from the political point of view. He who doesn't raise his voice in protest - even if the chances of succeeding are small — will become a partner to the crime which, at the very least, will destroy democracy in Israel.

Friedlander is a 50-year-old history professor at Tel Aviv University, one of the most admired and popular teachers at the university. Two years ago, hundreds of students came to Gilman Hall to hear his lecture series, "Introduction to Western Culture in the Twentieth Century." He is the author of many academic books which are well-known and popular in Europe and the United States about the political and psychological roots of the Holocaust and totalitarianism.

He didn't delude himself about the impact of the demonstration. As he told his friend in the morning, "We have to demonstrate, we have to at least join the voice of Peace Now, before a dangerous end is reached. The chances for change are not good, and it may be impossible to stand against blind forces with a rational argument, these high tides which are the result of psychological, political and social factors. With all the differences, it is just like what happened in Europe in the '30s; the silence and passivity of the European intellectuals should be for us a lesson and a warning. The Israeli intellectuals are disappointed and too tired to protest. In the pessimism, there is an element of immorality. Even if the chances are bad, we have to act as if they are good."

According to him, this is the only responsible attitude for anyone who believes that the existing political process is destructive. In two years time our destiny will be decided. If we continue in this direction, we will be an apartheid state, which will retroactively justify all the arguments of our worst enemies, that Zionism is another form of racism.

* * *

The rain stopped after Ramallah. The gloomy, concrete, boxed houses of Beit El settlement appeared on the side of the road, inside wire cages.

In his last book, *When Memory Comes*, which was a best-seller for a whole year, he wrote that Sadat's peace initiative exposed, "the hidden contradictions of our society: the will to reach a settlement, certainly, but also territorial ambitions; the will to compromise, but also the belief in a particular and decisive right to the land of Eretz Israel; the will to return to normal, but perhaps also an inability to accept what is normal." Today he says, "The chances for change are weak, but maybe, maybe, we can do something to help bring change." The Labour Party is not perfect; for some elements in the Labour Party, their place is with the Likud. But basically, it is a secular party without a national mysticism or an ideology which is against every compromise. Its leaders have not totally lost contact with reality: "If the Labour Party will come to power — before it is too late maybe we will renew the dialogue with Jordan," (he wrote in his book). In two years, or a maximum of three, it will be too late. Eighty thousand or 100,000 Jews on the West Bank will sabotage every attempt at compromise. They will fight with their teeth, not on principles, but for their house. Even if they will be offered compensation as in Yamit, we will have no money for this. We will remain stuck on the West Bank. The West Bank and not Lebanon will be the Vietnam of Israeli society, our Algeria. It will corrupt and destroy us politically, socially, economically, and morally.

Friedlander is sure that to prevent damage to Israel's foreign relations and to avoid giving civil rights to the inhabitants of the West Bank, Israel will not annex it. There is no doubt in his heart that the population on the West Bank will become more and more militant. The oppression in response will become more severe, and what will happen then? "Either there will be an attempt to evacuate the Arabs — which by itself means the end of Zionism, or an apartheid regime will be established, which we will try to impose in a very brutal way." We live today in a sort of apartheid — one law for them and another for us. We live under a parliamentary law (like the whites in South Africa), and the Palestinians live under a military, tyrannical regime. Today, the Arabs cannot live on half of the land on the West Bank. But the situation today is still reversible, by signing an agreement with Hussein. In two years, it will be impossible.

Who will stop the catastrophe? Who will stop the increasing corruption? "Begin," says Friedlander, "is still a metamorphosis of a liberal democrat. The people around him, and who may succeed him — they talk about Raful (former Chief of Staff Raphael Eitan — tr.) - belong to a different species."

More than that, contrary to what many people think, we don't expect a politicisation of the army, but rather a militarisation of the government. Eitan represents the lack of respect among senior officers for the Knesset and for the senior politicians. As the aggressive chief of staff, he neutralises the politicians who stand before him. When we compare the senior officer in the army to the new politician in the parties, we will have a good basis to fear that the generals of the future will despise the politicians of the future. They will feel superior, justifiably, in intellect and in character, to the politicians. And what will become of the democratic system?

These days, Professor Friedlander teaches a course about the Weimar Republic at Tel Aviv University. He is not tempted to compare it with Israel, as there is no similarity, but we can learn something from it.

* The First Lesson: How simple, but dangerous, is the tendency among intellectuals to keep quiet and to concentrate on their learned professions ("the betrayal of the intellectuals").

* The Second Lesson: What is more natural, and no less dangerous, is the weakness of liberal or social democratic opposition, which sees the process of evil and can do nothing to stop it.

Friedlander, who bitterly criticised the intellectual and liberal bourgeoisie in Europe in the '30s, because they didn't do enough to stop the evil, says now that the experience of the last three years in Israel taught him, to his surprise, to understand the French and Germans in the '30s. "To understand them means to fight yourself, and not to be tempted to close your eyes." He added, "It is very easy to be like them."

* The Third Lesson:

a. The destructive process is always a gradual and cumulative one, and that is why it is bearable. In its first stage, you can't predict the final result in its full and awesome meaning.

b. It is always possible to justify every stage, and even to justify it morally. For example, it is possible to justify building Upper Nablus with the "security" excuse. The seeds of war which are planted now will grow later on.

c. The process is always legal. In our case, we act on the West Bank according to the Darkon "Defence Articles" from the British Mandate. The legality of the process conveys to the leaders the feeling of being an ethical and conscientious people, while they forget that they called these same laws (when they were used against them) "Nazi" laws.

d. Because every stage by itself seems to be "bearable" as it were — "justified", as it were — "legal", as it were they don't see the result. Even well-intentioned people find it difficult to see the red line which they shouldn't cross. The red line is still in front of us, and we have to see it and decide what is the red line. Otherwise, it will be too late. The question is, when will we start resisting? When will we start civil disobedience?

These questions occupied Friedlander's mind, on this "Independence Day". They occupied his mind when he attended the demonstration on Bracha Mountain. He was surprised, but happy, because so many people came. These same thoughts occupied his mind when he was on his way to Jerusalem. He is not a presumptuous person, and he doesn't know the answers now. But he is worried that we are coming closer and closer to the red line, beyond which everything will be different.

That evening in front of the President in the Jerusalem Theatre, at the long table among other Israel Prize winners for this year, among the flowers and the distinguished guests, the compliments and well-formulated speeches, he was as Ahad HaAm (a famous early Hebrew poet) once said about himself at the First Zionist Congress — like a mourner among bridegrooms. (Translation: Haaretz 23.4.83)

by Zvi Bar'el

Haaretz, April 23, 1983

PEACE AS EXTORTION

Rafah: "Peace" Between Fences

Rafah, soon after division between Egypt and Israel in 1982. "Families and businesses were destroyed And we became the tragedy of the peace."

Wahid Yunis holds his two-year-old baby son on his lap. With his two free hands, he opens a *kamaj* (traditional Palestinian bread), puts in a falafel, and puts the *kamaj* and falafel in his mouth. Next to him sits his father on a broken concrete block, leaning on a wall behind him. In front of them sits an open pot of food. The father doesn't eat, his eyes are closed, and from time to time he swats a disturbing fly. Around them nervously moves the mother from place to place. She wears a long black dress.

"We always have to wait here until they arrive," she says. "We have agreed to meet here at 12:00 pm, and it is already 1:00 pm and they haven't shown up. But we are experienced. That's why, as you see, we brought a complete picnic with us."

Every Saturday, the Yunis family comes from Gaza, 40 kilometres from Rafah, to talk with their relatives who live on the Egyptian side of the border. "To talk" may not be the right word, since in this case, people have to shout at each other from a 30 metre distance, over fences that separate them.

While they were waiting for their family to come, other families from "Rafah Filastin" and from "Egyptian Rafah" start arriving and pushing themselves toward the fence, to be as close as they can to their relatives "there." It is difficult to have a real dialogue, especially when you have to shout all the words of love and longing in front of everybody else. That's why they talk in spurts. They shout and rest, shout and rest, and so on, for hours. And to aid communication, they use their arms and legs. "Luckily today is not windy," says Wahid's mother, "When it's windy, especially when the wind blows from the Egyptian side, it's impossible to hear anything, so everybody goes home." A car which used to be splendid appeared by the fence. A man gets out and starts shouting to the other side, "For how much did you sell the lamps?" From the people on the other side, somebody raises his hand, and we can see three fingers. It wasn't clear to me if he meant 30, 300 or 3000. But for the businessman, the answer was clear. He leaves the fence and goes back to his car. Later on, the commercial system becomes clear to me.

The division of the town, exactly one year ago, left not only divided families on the two sides, but also common businesses. Orchards were planted on one side, while the owners remained on the other. Houses, workshops, cars, and other machinery were impossible to move from one side to the other. Only 200 lucky people from 80,000 got special permission from the authorities (Israeli and Egyptian) to move daily from one side to the other between the hours of 8:00 am and 6:00 pm, without paying any fees. These people were chosen from the big businessmen to enable them to check and manage their businesses. But they are not allowed to transfer currency from side to side. It's an Egyptian prohibition. That's why a system of "mutual setting off" has been established. A businessman from one side deposits money in an Egyptian bank for the businessman from the Israeli side, and vice versa. When the time comes to enjoy the profit, the businessman from the Israeli side draws out his amount from the account belonging to his colleague from the other side, and vice versa.

But, after the division of Rafah, it is difficult to talk about businesses at all. When I was there last Saturday, most of the shops were closed. I was told that it wasn't like that because of a strike, but that it has been that way since the fences divided the city. Most of the merchants earned their living from the residents of Sinai who, since last April 25, are not able to come here.

Requests for Permits

On the Israeli side of Rafah live 60,000 inhabitants, 80 percent refugee. When they want to meet their relatives who sometimes live only 50 metres from them, they have to take a difficult and long route.

Fatma Mohammad Yusef, who lives in an apartment house next to the fence, has to apply twice every two months, in order to cross the border one application to the Israelis to let her cross the border, and the other to the Egyptians to enable her to enter their territories. The Israeli permit she gets after one week at a cost of IS850. But she has to wait 40 days for the Egyptian permit, although it is free.

With the two permits, she takes a taxi to the international border, and pays IS150 for the ride. She then takes a bus to the Egyptian side of the border, and from there a taxi to Egyptian Rafah, from where she can see her house. On her way back, she pays IS200 Egyptian border tax. If we calculate all her expenses to cross the border from one side of the fence to the other, she has to pay IS1500. What about families with six or seven members? They can't afford it, maybe once a year, she says.

This town is a sleepy one, its houses look like props from a poor theatre — uncompleted walls; concrete columns on roofs, as if somebody decided not to finish them; streets full of potholes; and very few people.

In the gloomy building of the municipality I met the mayor, Mr Abd al-Hamid Ashta, who shows me the planning maps drawn up before people talked about peace. There were plans for new neighbourhoods, an industrial zone, streets, houses, and yards. But everything stopped when the blue line was drawn. Many citizens left for Gaza, and some others to the West Bank. The remaining shops are on the verge of bankruptcy, and no one is ready to invest in them.

The division left not only divided families...but also businesses. Orchards were planted on one side, while the owners remained on the other.

Ashta is especially angry at the Egyptians. "During the process of peace and division, the Egyptian side of the town ran up a water and electricity consumption bill of over US $27,000. We have asked the appointed municipality on the western side of town to pay us the debt. Until now, we haven't received even a penny." He estimates the value of installations on the Egyptian side, including waterpipes, electricity facilities, sewage and others, at US $6 million. Despite all the attempts through the Israelis to the Egyptians, they have not yet received anything for them.

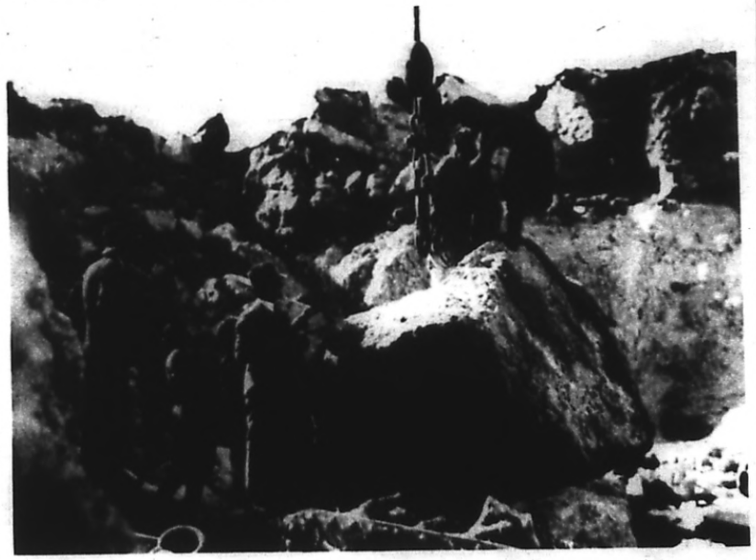
Marriage as an International Problem

Zaki, the son of the mayor has other complaints: "The youth have nothing to look forward to here. Even a marriage becomes an international problem. A woman who wants to get married with a man from the western side has to take a permit from the Egyptians to move to live with her husband. When she moves, she will have to face all the problems of visiting her mother here. She can't bring her husband over here, because the Israelis won't give her husband an identity card. On the other hand, a woman from the western side who wants to get married to one from the eastern side can't take her husband over there because of the Egyptians."

Meanwhile, the shouting between the two sides goes on, under the eyes of the Israeli and Egyptian soldiers who patrol along the road between the fence. On the site of the road there used to be houses. Sharon once promised that these houses would not be destroyed, but all of a sudden, security needs took priority, and in place of the houses, a road was built. The homeowners were evacuated, and received financial compensation and a piece of land next to the refugee camp, Tel al-Sultan, to build new houses. At first, there were demonstrations and disorder, but now new houses are being built.

In Aziz Coffee House, which one year ago was a restaurant, grilling facilities stand unused. "Once I used to work here with all my brothers. Then we couldn't serve everyone who wanted to eat here." But today he has a lot of free time, and is able to sit with me and talk. "We were all for peace," he said. "It was a sort of new toy that everyone wanted to play with. We thought that it would be great; I talked with my father about expanding the restaurant. There would be a lot of exchange between Israel and Egypt, and we would have a good business. They promised us that peace would bring prosperity. But you see what has happened. Families and businesses were destroyed. And we became the tragedy of the peace. I didn't imagine that peace would become an extortion."

Palestinian Labourers Inside '48 Borders: "Little Has Changed in 35 Years"



Before 1948 most Palestinian workers maintained themselves as independent farmers (left). Thirty five years later, 50 percent of Palestinian labourers inside the '48 borders are hired on construction projects such as those at Ramot, near Jerusalem, above, most of whom come from Abu Ghosh can only go home on weekends or at the end of the month and endure harsh working conditions (JN). The Histadrut has done little for Arab workers in the meantime. At a stone quarry in Haifa (right) in pre-'48 Palestine, the Histadrut pressured the Public Works Department to favour Jewish labourers in wage policy. Today the Histadrut discriminates against Arabs, now permitted as members (Photos left and right, from *Palestinians and their Society: 1880 - 1946* by Sarah Graham-Brown)

by Awad Abdel Fattah

In the last few months the Palestinian workers in Israel have become a focal point for the local news media, when attacks and harassment against them recurred. They hit the headlines when Israel TV investigated the case of the 5000 Arab workers in Eilat who are employed under appalling conditions. The Arab workers who were interviewed last summer spoke about countless cases of aggression and harassment by both the police and locals.The working conditions, especially the places where they sleep, were reflected by the TV camera. Just last month the Israeli newspapers *Al Hamishmar* and *Yediot Ahronot* reported on an attack by border guards against 100 Palestinian workers in Rishon LeZion township, near Tel Aviv.

These incidents also prompted investigation by special committees from the Israeli 'workers union' (Histadrut). After investigation, nothing was done to protect Arab workers.

Older Arab workers say they are reminded of the atmosphere which prevailed in the early stage of the state of Israel under military laws.

What are these conditions? Has there been a real change since the foundation of the Jewish state?

Historical-Political View

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But 1949, the first year of this stage, was of a particular character for the Palestinian workers in particular, and the Palestinians inside the 1948 borders, in general. It was not only because it was the beginning of the dramatic change, but also because it was full of struggles which were waged by the Arab workers against the total Israeli policy towards Palestinians who became a minority in the new state.

After the establishment of the state of Israel, military laws were imposed on Palestinian villages and towns. Each became a closed military area. As a result, neither workers nor farmers were able to go to work on their land except with a permit from the military governor. Applicants obtained permits only after a long wait. In addition to all of this, there were thousands of people, including unionists, who were arrested by the Israeli army and held in detention centres for months. "There was a semi-starvation situation," said Jamal Musa, the representative of the Communist Party in the Histadrut and an active Palestinian unionist before and after the emergence of the state of Israel. He explained that the siege imposed on Arab farmers forced a sharp drop in agriculture, and consequently this minimised to a large extent the sources of livelihood. "Large amounts of land were being taken under the pretext of absentee property," he added.

In view of this situation, the Arab Workers Congress which was founded in 1945 "to wage class and national struggle," held a conference in Nazareth on April 9, 1949 in which delegates from all villages and towns took part. Delegates made their way on foot through mountains and valleys, old unionists remember. The conferees, who included Communists and independent nationalists, came out with a set of basic decisions and demands: to struggle for removing the military rule, for free movement and work for workers and farmers, and the improvement of the conditions of the Arab workers and allowing them to return to the jobs they were doing before the state was set up. Decisions related to the solution of the Palestinian problem were also taken, such as the establishment of the Palestinian Arab state according to the UN resolutions and the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homeland.

"By calling this conference," said Jamal Musa, "we wanted to tell everybody that we are still here and we will continue our national struggle." The executive committee which was elected at the conference sponsored the immediate opening of branches for the Arab Workers Congress (union) in the Palestinian villages and towns.

In the same year, dozens of demonstrations and strikes were organised and called by the Arab Workers Congress (union) to achieve the demands which the conference put forward. On May Day the union held its first demonstration in Nazareth, in which Palestinian workers' delegations from different areas took part. At the end of May another demonstration marched out of the old city of Acre to protest the "complete siege" imposed on the town and the mass arrests which were being made by the Israelis. A short time later, the workers of Ben'ana village in the Galilee broke through the siege on their village riding in cars, and staged another demonstration in Acre in front of the military governor headquarters. Their slogan was "Labour and Bread." All the demonstrating workers were detained for a few days. The challenge of siege was repeated in al-Mghar village, the Galilee, when its population, led by the unionists, went out to pick their olives, defying military laws imposed on the village.

"The militant actions and other demonstrations," Jamal Musa told *Al Fajr*, "were productive and restrictions on movement and travel permits started to recede."

In answer to a question as to whether such courageous militant actions were only a result of the intense oppressive policies of the Israelis, Jamal said that the post-1948 struggle of the workers was an extension of the escalation of struggle of the workers which followed the setting up the Arab Workers Congress and the mass national struggle. Jamal Musa told *Al Fajr* that at the end of every demonstration, unionists, including him, were targets of arrests by the Israelis. Above his head, in his office, hangs a picture of him and two other Palestinian unionists. It was taken by a foreign journalist while they were in a detention centre in 1949.

To counter the independent Arab worker organisation, the Histadrut founded what it called the Association of Palestinian Workers, for purposes of containment, and appointed an "Arab collaborator" as the head of the association. Only a few workers joined the association. At the same time, the Histadrut refused to allow Arab workers membership in their union. When the Histadrut failed to convince all the Arab workers to join the so-called Association for the Workers of Palestine, it disbanded it in 1953 and opened the doors of the Histadrut itself for the Arab workers. Joining the Histadrut was not always the choice of the Arab worker. Membership fees were automatically deducted from salaries without asking the permission of the Palestinian worker.

Following this step, the Arab Workers Congress, which was controlled by the Communists, disbanded itself and ordered the Arab workers to join the Histadrut in order to "wage joint struggle between Arab and Israeli workers against national and class oppression," Jamal Musa told *Al Fajr*.

In 1965, the Arab workers took part in the Histadrut general elections, and a communist list consisting of Arabs and Jewish workers was elected.

Discrimination and Appalling Conditions

Most Palestinian workers find work by commuting on a daily or weekly basis from their villages to Israeli townships. This has been the trend since 1949. A group of reporters visited Arab workers in 1961 in Tel Aviv and wrote about the conditions of employment and accommodation:"These labourers, some of whom are 14 and 15 years old, are put up for the night in tin huts and cowsheds ... the crowding is intense, the sanitary conditions appalling. There are no toilets and the workers prepare their meals on the spot. In winter they make fires in doorways to keep themselves warm."

The report, reprinted in a recent book by Ian Lustick, continues, "The workers complained that they are often awakened from their sleep at night by the police, who come to investigate whether everyone is equipped with a travel permit from the military government of the area."

Another report, prepared in 1957 and published in the same book, talks about the same miserable conditions: "... they find themselves places to sleep in incomplete houses under construction ... in the winter in niches and dilapidated shacks ... some sleep at their place of work: in the evening the owner pulls down the shutters and locks them up inside, releasing them in the morning when he comes to work."

Al Fajr got the same information and sentiments during a visit to a construction project in the vicinity of Jerusalem, where a few hundred Palestinian workers from Israel are employed. It belongs to the well-known Israeli millionaire Druker Zacharia.

"I spent 10 years in Tel Aviv, beginning shortly before 1960." said Abu Khaled, 50 years old and father of 10 children, from Um al-Fahm, "and I used to sleep either in building shells or in a shack. I was frequently awakened by the police."

Abu Khaled became the son a of a landless refugee family after 1948. He is originally from the Haifa area and his family was forced out during the war.

Yusef Abbas, 45, from Deir al-Assad, who works in the same project, and others cited similar stories.

It is ironic that the current working conditions of the workers are not so different from those suffered during the past 35 years. Workers feel that their situation has gone from bad to worse. The wages they receive are hardly enough to buy food. "We are living in spite of all odds against us," said one worker. He added that nowadays one cannot build a new house for his grown-up sons.

Construction projects, where a large number of Palestinian workers work and sleep, have become familiar in Israel. In Eilat, Ramot (near Jerusalem) Arad (near Beer Sheba), Rishon LeZion and in other places, there are thousands of Arabs who are forced to work there and go back home only on weekends or at the end of the month. In all these projects, places of sleep consist of mobile shacks. Toilets and bathrooms are distant from these shacks. Entertainment is out of the question and therefore they are forced to spend the whole night at their shacks doing nothing but talking to each other or sleeping.

Mistrust in the Histadrut

About 65,000 Palestinian workers are registered as members in the Israeli worker's union, Histadrut. But the Palestinian members, who represent 60 percent of the total Arab workers, do not feel at all that it represents them. "The Histadrut is part of the existing Zionist system and it has been practicing racist discrimination against Arab workers since its establishment," said Abu Khaled. "It has done nothing for us."

According to Jamal Musa, the Palestinian labour force amounted in 1980 to 110,000. About 80,000 are dependent on hired labour. The percentage employed in construction work is approximately 50 percent and the remaining percentage find employment in factories, the service sector, restaurants and hotels, and in education.

Jamal told *Al Fajr* that Arab workers still face discrimination in wages and that heavy industry and certain governmental circles are still closed to them. He explained that there are no Arab engineers, for example, in government and Histadrut enterprises. The Histadrut sick fund (Kupat Holim) employs few Arab doctors.

Besides all this, there is no single industry run by the Histadrut — and neither by the government — in the Arab villages where Arab workers can dispense with the tiring daily travel they make to the remote Israeli projects, although it owns 25 percent of the state industry. "They did not only take our land but they have deprived us of any industry, also," said one worker. He added that instead of building industry in the Palestinian villages, the Israelis paved the roads connecting the Arab villages with the Israeli townships, to ease the "shipment" of Arab workers to "their market of exploitation."

Also, the Histadrut has been refusing the demand of the Palestinians to have elected workers' councils to represent and follow the affairs and problems of workers in each village. This is contrary to the situation in the Israeli townships and settlements. Only in 1981 13 villages in the Galilee allowed one elected council for all, as well as one in Taibeh. In the last 10 years there have been appointed councils in both Taibeh and Shafa 'Amr.

"Usually," said Jamal Musa, "they appoint people who don't represent the Arab workers and who are connected with Israeli policy in one way or another." The absence of employment offices in most of the Arab villages adds to the difficulties, especially in these days when unemployment is growing. Workers have to travel to the towns in order to ask for employment, a costly business when unemployed workers are required to register daily at the offices until a job is found for them.

BOOKS BANNED IN THE WEST BANK

Al Fajr continues the list of books banned in the West Bank by the Israeli military authorities as published for the first time in cumulative form by the Israeli Defence Forces, September 20, 1982, under the title *Decrees, Orders and Stipulations: Order Regarding Hostile Propaganda.* The order is dated January 18, 1977 and is issued by Yehoshua Bar David, censor, who writes in the introduction: "Based on the authority granted to me in accordance with Article No. 88 (A) from Defence Regulations (State of Emergency) 1945 and Article 8 regarding the prohibition of works of hostile propaganda (Judea and Samaria) No 101 for the year 1967 and as I believe that the order is necessary for purposes of security and public order, I hereby issue the following order... It is prohibited to import or print or distribute the publications listed below this order. All orders regarding publications which were issued before the date of this order are repealed The effective date of this order is January 26, 1976."

Title	Author	Place of Publication	Publisher
What After the Ramadan War?	Ahmed S. Dajani	Beirut	Institute of Studies
When Will the Night End?	Mohammad Seif al-Din al-Irani	Beirut	Dar al-Katib
The Hated Community	Said Juma'a	Beirut	Dar al-Katib
Effort Number Seven	Mahmoud Darwish	Beirut	Dar al-Adab
The Six Hour War	Abd al-Sittar al-Tawil	Egypt	al-Hay'a al-Masria
Palestine War 1948	Mohammad Fayiz al Qasri	Cairo	Dar al Ma'aref
A Long Day in a Short Life	Ghali Shukri	Dar	al-Afaq al-Jadida
Tale of Existence	Hussni Khries	Beirut	Modern Bookstore
The Writer and Reality	Abd al Muhsin Taha Badr	Cairo	Dar al-Ma'aref
Round the World in 200 Days	Anis Mansour	Cairo	Dar al Nashr
Blood on my Palms	Samih al-Qassem	Beirut	Dar al-Awda
Poetry	Nizar Qabbani	Beirut	Dar al-Kutub
Documents of the Palestinian National Movement 1918 – 1939 From the Papers of Akram Zueitar	Bayyan Nuweihid al-Hout	Institute for Palestine Studies	
The Theory of the Arab Revolution	Ismat Seif al-Dawla	Beirut	Dar al-Masira
Confessions	Yusuf al Sa'igh	Beirut	Dar al-Adaab
The Homeland in the Two Eyes	Hamida Naana	Beirut	Dar al-Adaab
The Voice and the Echo	Riyad Asmat	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
The Innovation Movement	Khalada Said	Beirut	Dar al-Awdeh
The Culture of Propaganda	Yunis al-Qarjawi	Beirut	Message Institute
The Movement of National and Patriotic Destiny	George Hilwa	Beirut	Dar al-Farabi
The Islamic World and Cultural, Social and Political Colonialism	Anwar al-Jundi	Beirut	Dar al-Katib al-Lubnani
Three Wings of Deceit	Abd al-Rahman al-Midani	Damascus	Dar al-Qalam
Pioneering Islam	Abdullah Kanoun	Beirut	Dar al-Katib al-Lubnani
Arab Nationalism in the Face of Conflict	Mohammad al-Majdoub	Beirut	Dar al-Elm Lilmalayin
Thus the Middle East is Lost	Alfred Lilienthal	Beirut	Dar al-Elm Lilmalayin
The Cultural Side of Arab Nationalism	Abd al-Latif Sharara	Beirut	Dar al-Elm Lilmalayin
Political Evaluations of the Camp David Resolutions	Nabil Shabib	Beirut	Dar al-Muwasasa
Combination of Day and Night	Ahmad Dahbour	Beirut	Dar al-Awdeh
Khomeini: The Islamic Solution and the Alternative	Fathi Abd al-Aziz	al-Mukhtar al-Islami	
Zionist Plans Until the Year 2000	Kamil al-Sharqawi	Cairo	Arab Printing Press
Let My People Live	Ahmad Fuad Nijm	Beirut	Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The Arab National Liberation Movement	Majid Abd al-Rida	Beirut	Dar Ibn Khaldoun
The History of Jerusalem	Mu'ain Mahmoud	Beirut	Dar al-Andalus
Studies in the Geography of Lebanon	Hassan Abu al-Ainain	Beirut	Dar al-Nahda
Islam: Reality not Dictatorship	Sabr Taima	Beirut	Dar al-Jeel
Geopolitical and Political Geography	Mohammad Riyadh	Beirut	Dar al-Nahda
Selected Writings	Marajallah al-Hilu	Beirut	Dar al-Farabi
The Mountain and Fog	Jihad Saleh	Beirut	Dar Ibn Rushd
Hymns and Anthems	Yusuf al-Atham	Beirut	al-Maktab al-Islami
The Final Demise of Regionalists in the Arab Nation	Habib Issa	Beirut	Dar al-Masira
Using Economic Means in War	Mohammad Abu Ghazaleh	Cairo	Dar al-Fikr al-Arabi
The Unified History of the Arab Nation	Ali al-Kharboutli	Cairo	General Institute
Arab Tribes and Their Origins in Our Country Palestine	Mustafa Dabbagh	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
The Messenger and the Jewish Wizard	Mohammad Qalaji	Kuwait	Dar al-Manar al-Islami
The Image of Palestine in the Contemporary Palestinian Story	Wasif Abu Shabab	Beirut	Dar al-Talia
Islam and Western Civilisation	Anwar al-Jundi	Beirut	Dar al-I'tissam
Between Maturity and Being Lost	Malik Ibn Beni	Syria	Dar al-Fikr
War of Existence Not War of Borders	In'am Raad	Beirut	Dar al-Masira
From the Atlantic to the Gulf	Mohammad al-Sahihi	Cairo	Maktabat al-Nahda
Fadwa Tuqan and Contemporary Jordanian Poetry	Shakir al-Nabulsi	Cairo	Dar al-Qawmieh
The Republic of Palestine	Fawzi al-Asmar and Uri Davis	Al-Sharq Co. Press	
Socialism	Naim Khader	Key to Tel Aviv Press	
Holy War for the Sake of Allah	Hassan al-Banna	Cairo	Dar al-I'tissam
Regional World Geography	Jessie Wheeler	Beirut	Dar al-Haya
Lights on Psychological War	Aqid Jamal Said	Cairo	Educational Bookstore
Contemporary Sects and Islam	Abd al-Rahman Amireh	Riyadh	Dar al-Ra'i
Intellectual Invasions of the Muslim World	Ali Mohammad Jarisha	Cairo	Dar al-I'tissam
Anthology of Contemporary Sermons	Mohammad Abu al-Alaa	Cairo	Cairo Bookstore
The Jews of Dunma	Mustafa Souran(Translation Kamal Khoury)	Cairo	Dar al-Islam
Our Way to Jerusalem	Abd al-Halim Huwaisi	Cairo	Dar al-I'tissam
Acre My Homeland	Abd al-Rahman al-Sharqawi	Cairo	Dar al-Shuruq
The History and Teachings of the Talmud	Dhifr al-Islam Khan	Beirut	Dar al-Nafa'is
Zionism and Violence	Hussein al-Tantawi	Cairo	Dar al-Shaab
Blood in the Bread of Zion	Najib al-Killani	Beirut	Dar al-Nafa'is
Jerusalem	Sami Hakim	Cairo	Anglo-Egyptian Bookstore
Israel, the Fascination of Modern Generations	Ibrahim Khalil Ahmed	Arab Awareness Bookstore	1970
Anthology of Sermons for the Late Sheikh Abd al-Aziz Qassem Hamada	Ahmed Ghanim al-Rashid	Kuwait	Government Press
Ramadan My Beloved	Najib al-Killani	Cairo	al-Mukhtar al Islami
Hostile Ideology and Philosophy in the Light of Islam	Anwar al-Jundi	Beirut	Dar al-I'tissam

Mahmoud Darwish Awarded Lenin Prize

Mahmoud Darwish, the poet of the Palestinian revolution, is one of the four laureates of this year's Lenin prize, the Soviet Union's highest honour to foreigners. The Soviet news agency, TASS, reported that the winners of the prize have supported the cause of peace in the world and among peoples.

Mahmoud Darwish was born in al-Birweh, east of Acre, in 1943. The village was wiped out in 1948. His family fled to Jdaideh where Mahmoud was brought up. Darwish came to prominence after the Arab defeat of 1967. He, together with Tawfiq Zayyad, now the mayor of Nazareth, Samih al-Qassem and Salem Jubran became known as 'the poets of resistance.' Their poetry gained wide distribution in the Arab world.

In 1969 Darwish left Palestine for India, then to Egypt during the rule of the nationalist leader, Gamal Abd al-Nasser. In the diaspora Darwish reflected in his poetry and writings the sufferings of the Palestinian people and revolution. The first poem he wrote in Egypt is about the martyr Abu Ali Iyyad killed by King Hussein in Jarash. Darwish became one of the foremost poets in Arabic.

Three years ago he won the Lotus Prize, the primary award of the Afro-Asian writers. Darwish publishes the monthly poetry magazine *Al Karmel.*

Ali Khalili, a poet and writer in the occupied territories and editor of *Al Fajr al-Adabi* literary monthly said, "Darwish is the literary conscience of the Palestinian people and of contemporary international liberation movements. I would nominate him for Nobel prize for literature. A generation of Arab poets have learned style and content from Darwish's poetry."

The following books by or about Darwish are banned in the occupied territories.

I Love You or I do not Love You,
Oh Peace,
The Diary of Normal Sadness,
Attempt No. Seven,
The Collected Works of Mahmoud Darwish,
The Soldier Who Dreamt of the White Lilies,
Writings of Mahmoud Darwish,
Weddings,
The Lover,
Lover from Palestine,
Birds Die in Galilee.

BOOK REVIEW

The Real Career of Ariel Sharon

The resentment against former Israeli Defence Minister Ariel Sharon ran deep in the Israeli public as well as among Palestinians. In Israel it encompassed members of Knesset from both right and left and soldiers and officers in the Israeli army. It increased after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and prompted a collection of facts about Sharon's personal history published by six members of the Israeli peace movement under the title *The Black Past of Ariel Sharon*.

The booklet, 35 fullscap pages, outlines the brutal, illegal and inhuman acts committed by Sharon between 1953 and 1982. Despite the fact that it omits certain episodes — Sharon's involvement in the suppression of Palestinian resistance in the refugee camps in Gaza in the early '70s, for instance - it gives an indispensible insight into the real Sharon.

It is not simply a study of Sharon's brutality towards the Palestinians; it also exposes acts of self-interest, disobedience and violations of military orders, cowardliness and irresponsible attitude towards soldiers under his command.

"The world view of Arik is solutions by force, systematic harm to the Arabs."

One of the short-comings of the booklet is that it deals with Sharon in isolation from the regime of which he was a prominent member. What should be realised is that Sharon is a product of Zionist policy and its chauvinist ideology.

The booklet begins with a set of opinions about Sharon given by current and former Israeli ministers and government officials before moving on to explain the purpose of the booklet: "to prove the danger of Sharon to the state of Israel... and democracy... and to recruit the Israeli public to strip him of any government post."

Among the opinions are:

"If it was decided to return Sharon to the (Israeli army) Golda would have demonstrated against it with a placard in her hand," **Golda Meir, former prime minister, 1974.**

"Arik (Sharon's nickname) cannot work with staff... he is not a person who sticks to his principles... he looks at people from above." **Simha Ehrlich, former finance minister and current agriculture minister, 1976.**

"Sharon is dangerous to a free society and a democratic regime. If he reaches power he will disband the Knesset and declare a dictatorial military regime, or he would open detention camps for his political foes." **Simha Ehrlich, 1980.**

"Those who commanded him claim that he does not carry out orders and violates the basic disciplinary laws." **Moshe Dayan, former defence minister.**

Ariel Sharon

"Throughout my days, since I became a second lieutenant, I have been working to dismiss those appointed over me." **Ariel Sharon.**

"Sharon would concentrate tanks around the prime minister's office." **Menachem Begin, current prime minister, 1980**

The information in this book was taken from newspapers, books and testimony of those who came in contact with the former defence minister. The authors say that some of the information is printed for the first time. Sabra and Shatila is not included in the history because information was not available when it went to press.

The first chapter of the book deals with a number of massacres against Palestinians in the 1950s. They are related directly by Israelis.

Professor Dan Hurevitz, from the Hebrew University, tells this story: "In 1953 I was serving in the reserve unit whose commander was Major Ariel Sharon. In the summer of that year, the unit was sent on reserve service to Maaleh Hamisha. One day Sharon told some of the officers that it was permitted to operate the 82 mm rocket launcher without orders from above. After that, Major Sharon gave orders to the unit, in which I served, to send a group of officers to ambush some women from the neighbouring Palestinian village Qatana (then under Jordanian control) as they were on their way to a water spring, and to open fire on them and kill them because they were passing a lane which, according to him, was on Israeli territory.

"Sharon expected the response of the people of the village would be to open fire and then he (Sharon) would operate the launchers against the village on the pretext of saving the officers. Sharon had warned us not to tell regional officers who were coming on a visit to the unit so that the operation would not be cancelled. Four officers were sent from the unit and they killed two women from the village of Qatana on their way to the spring.

"The villagers then opened fire and the unit returned fire on the village including with launchers. After the operation , during a report on it, Sharon said that this time they were easy targets to hit..."

A quite similar story then follows. It is taken from the diaries of the then Prime Minister Moshe Sharrett:

"On March 4, 1955, Meir Har Zion (a notorious Zionist killer) and three of his friends killed five Beduin in revenge for the killing of his sister Shoshana. Initially it was reported to Sharrett that the operation was executed without the knowledge of the Israeli army. But on March 11, 1955, an officer reported to Sharrett that the whole of the revenge operation was organised with the active help of Ariel Sharon, the commander of the paratroopers unit. He fitted the four out with weapons and food and other equipment and he sent them with a unit vehicle. He also sent a group of soldiers to secure their way back. Moreover, the guys are silent now in accordance with the detailed orders of Arik. And the end of the story: for this Sharon was punished — he was severely reprimanded in the presence of all officers who held the same rank or higher."

Facts about Sharon's disobedience to orders occupy a large space in this book. His disobedience caused a freeze in his promotion for 10 years in 1956:

"Disobedience to order which brought about dangerous results in the first years of the state was in the Mitla operation, during the Sinai operation (31.11.56)."

According to the booklet Sharon led his unit and attacked an Egyptian position in the vicinity of the Suez Canal in violation of orders. The battle ended with the deaths of 35 Israelis and 120 wounded.

The book continues: "But in the end Sharon obtained the rank of major general and after strong differences in the Israeli army staff he was appointed commander of the southern command in 1970. And then — he won the battle of the operation of expelling Beduin from the Rafah area...

"Only in 1972 did the operation reach its height. Through the triumph of the commander of the southern district, Ariel Sharon — it was his first specialisation as 'contractor' of confiscation and settlement — thousands of Beduin were expelled from their encampments in order to make room for the new pioneering settlements." After a short time shocking news made the press about the brutal character of the evacuation. Israeli witnesses spoke about brutal treatment against the Beduin, about vicious beatings and the destruction of water wells — all this in order to force them to leave their land..."

As the minister of agriculture, Sharon turned his entire attention to covering the West Bank with settlements. Also with violating the law — such as in the case of Elon Moreh:

Moshe Haneghi, *Kvalim Bqzedeq:*

"Only four days passed between the final vote in the government and the laying of the corner stone of the settlement. The haste was not accidental but was destined to prevent the people of the village, Rujib (near Nablus), from appealing to the High Court before the Jewish settlement rested on their land... For this, Sharon and his aides decided to be wise and delay handing over the expropriation orders until after the settlers and the bulldozers made the situation *de facto*. For this reason the operation of entering the land was planned as a "military invasion" with secrecy... On the morning of July 7, the impressive operation began. Large Israeli forces escorted the settlers to prevent any entry by the villagers to their land. At 8:00 am they handed the *mukhtars* the expropriation orders while in the meantime the bulldozers began working. Military helicopters landed unceasingly on the land and dropped initial equipment for the settlers and the settlement. By 12:00 pm about 20 tents were already put up and the secretary of the settlement, Beni Katzover, assured newsmen that in the place a blooming municipal township would grow. Also Minister Sharon, 'the human bulldozer', made use of his position to make a political statement. "Elon Moreh is the first settlement in HaShomron (the Nablus area) after a year of inactivity imposed following the political contacts. Its establishment right now, towards the approach of the negotiations on autonomy in the West Bank, is clear cut evidence that the government is sticking to (the aim of) settling the whole of the Land of Israel.

"But the landowners, the Arabs of Rujib, petitioned the High Court despite the tricks of Sharon — and they won."

Among other illegal practices in the West Bank were also land purchases. In 1980 *HaOlam HaZe* wrote: "As agriculture minister, Ariel Sharon worked to violate the law as it related to the West Bank. The activists of (Sharon's election list for the 1977 elections) *Shlom Zion* and Arik's close associates worked in private trade in purchasing land in the West Bank..."

In the same period, according to the book, Ariel Sharon operated the Green Patrols against the Beduin in Israel with the aid of special powers granted to his men. On this subject, legal expert Haman Sheleyeh gave this opinion: "Regarding this body (the Green Patrols), there was no power to give its employees powers of special policemen."

"Sharon would concentrate tanks around the Prime Minister's Office" — Menachem Begin

In a chapter headed 'Get Out Man of Blood' a set of incidents which showed Sharon's brutality to Palestinians are summed up. Some have been mentioned in previous excerpts.

The chapter begins with opinions of Sharon from a soldier and journalist:

continued on page 13

WINDOW ON THE ARAB PRESS

The latest restrictions imposed by the Jordanian government on residents crossing back to the West Bank, the latest moves by PLO officials and the Shultz shuttle were the main stories in Palestinian papers this week.

Al Quds daily, known for its good contacts with the Jordanian government, was the first to give details of the restrictions Jordan is planning to impose on West Bank travellers crossing from the two Jordan River bridges.

PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat's travels to Syria, which climaxed May 3 in a summit meeting with President Hafez Assad, was the top story in all three dailies May 4.

Attempts to Bypass PLO Won't Succeed!

Whenever the insinuations and suggestions increase concerning the possibility of the Jordanian regime participating in negotiations on the basis of the Reagan plan without the agreement of the PLO, those who make such insinuations forget that the issue of "delegating authority" is not one of formalities, nor is it a "competition", but that it carries deep political meaning related to the Palestinian destiny itself and their right to determine their future.

"Delegating authority" means acceptance of the Reagan plan and agreement to the continued fragmentation of the Palestinian people and the deprivation of their right to establish an independent state and protect their sole national identity.

If there are those who plan or arrange or endeavour to negotiate without the authority to do so, in response to Washington's demand, they will not succeed, as was the case before when more than one party tried to eliminate the cause of the Palestinian people without its participation and in opposition to its will.

It is indisputable that the presence of Arab states hostile to imperialism opposes such a direction. It is also indisputable that the Arab people do not accept it, but oppose all who try to take such a course. No attempt to push some Palestinians into such negotiations will change this at all; no agreement on this basis will be given legitimacy, neither as far as the Palestinian people, nor the Arab people nor international public opinion are concerned.

In such a situation, where the opposition of the PLO, of Arab revolutionary forces, of those Arab states opposed to the Reagan plan, of international forces supportive of the Palestinian people and the PLO, all come together, the possibility of the Jordanian government entering negotiations on the basis of the Reagan plan is a sort of political stupidity or an adventure whose outcome is uncalculated. Certain failure will be its destiny, especially if all the forces opposed to the Reagan plan unite their efforts, including the forces of the occupied territories, and move on this united groundwork in order to implement the Fez summit resolutions without additions or amendments.

AL TALIA
April 28

Wandering Shultz

US Secretary of State George Shultz continues to ping-pong between Israel and Lebanon ... Tension increases in the Beqa'a ... Talks about the possibility of an Israeli-Syrian war ... and in the centre of these developments, the Arab world remains silent. Shultz, supposedly representing the US, is playing the part of a judge when he is actually drawing a map of this region for the benefit of his administration. He is heading toward the PLO and Syria with his proposals. He is not moving in a specific circle concerning the Lebanon crisis, yet is tying everything together in knots.

Shultz wants to drain the PLO politically and impose severe conditions on Lebanon and Syria. He also wants to drain the whole Palestinian question and make us give in to the Reagan peace plan. A united Arab stand during this period is necessary in order to impose conditions on Shultz's visit. The Arab nations are acting as if they hired him to do all that he is doing, while they remain satisfied with their silence and indifference.

Shultz's tour is made up of diplomatic and political American pressure on the nationalistic nations in the region. This pressure is supported by Israeli military forces and the American position in the region. If Shultz succeeds in imposing his administration's conditions in Lebanon, he will continue to direct himself in a new direction with pressure focussing on attempts to impose Reagan's plans. This situation needs a united nationalistic stand in order to block his new path.

AL SHAAB
April 29

The Lebanese Standpoint

Lebanese officials can barely control greater Beirut, while the rest of Lebanon is under Israeli occupation or under the control of Syrian troops. The Lebanese army is not only weaker than Israeli or Syrian troops, but also weaker than the internal forces.

In spite of this, Lebanon's stand in the negotiations with Israel is strong. President Amin Gemayel declared he would prefer the occupation to a separate peace with Israel. Foreign Minister of Lebanon, Eli Salem, declared his country's refusal of Israel conditions, and that he sees in them an attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon. He also stresses Lebanon's belief that its commitment to the Arab countries is first and foremost on the list of priorities.

It has been said that Lebanon speaks with United States backing, thus he can keep the dialogue open no matter what the consequences such as an Arab blockade, especially a Syrian one. But the truth is Lebanon under these conditions could have been more lenient with Israel.

This attitude requires from Arabs a more helpful attitude towards Lebanon and its elimination of Israeli occupation. The aid should be political and economic, just as the Syrians and Palestine Liberation Organisation declared their help to Lebanon as well as support of the rightful authorities. Because of this support, Lebanon gained strength during the talks with Israel.

The important thing is to preserve Lebanon's strength and not to allow Israel to expropriate concessions from Lebanon or force it to give in to its conditions.

AL MITHAQ
April 30

Workers' Support

The world celebrates May 1 as a labour day holiday to salute the greatness and strength of labour. It is regarded as the living cell of a commnity as well as a sign of humane progress and the struggle against all manifestations of exploitation.

The Palestinian people support the workers of the world in their celebration of May 1, at a time when antagonistic acts are carried out against these people whose fate is unknown.

The Palestinian working class has proven through its long struggle against colonialism and exploitation their potential to push our struggle to the forefront. We assure all of the importance and greatness of this working class who make up the majority of the Palestinians and give them our thanks. We should not forget our unity, in which lies a strategic importance to our existence.

Greetings to our labour force and to the millions of workers in the world who struggle against feudalism, imperialism and exploitation for a better society based on truth, rights and peace!

AL FAJR
May 1

Jordanian Restrictions

The restrictions of the Jordanian government regarding the bridge have been the centre of talk among West Bankers because these bridges are the only means of travel for the people of the occupied territories.

Thousands of students are asking about their future and whether the Jordanian government is planning to forbid them leaving the occupied territory? The farmers are worried about their produce, whether Jordan will impose any regulations about exporting their produce, and will the percentage of export be reduced? Owners of various factories are also worried about what's to become of them and their goods. Will they get permission to enter Jordan's market or other Arab markets through Jordan? The ordinary civilian asks: Will his residency in Jordan be fixed like other Arab countries?

What one must understand from the Jordanian action is exactly what was said in their statement: that its role in dealing with the Palestinian problem is equal to the roles of other Arab countries, and thus protecting Jordanians and Palestinians from emigrating from the occupied Arab lands. Does this mean that the residents of the occupied territories will not be able to move freely through Arab countries? Will the Palestinians in Jordan be treated like they are treated in other Arab countries such as the Arab Gulf? The question to ask is what will happen as a result of these procedures?

AL QUDS
May 3

Israeli Government Approves Construction of 20 New Settlements

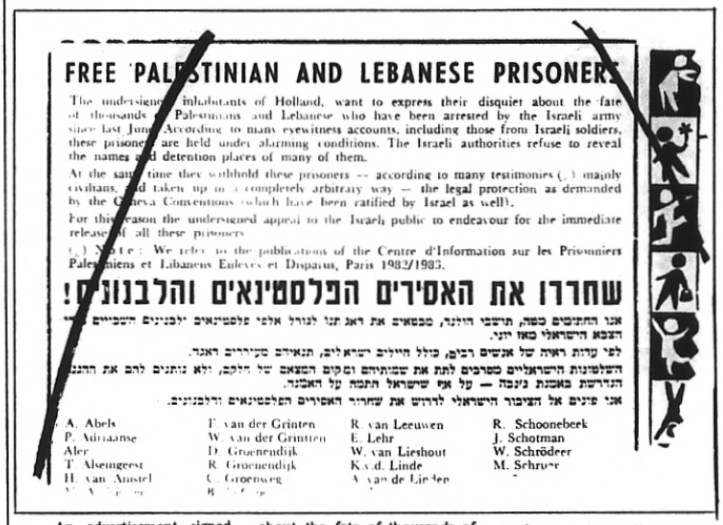
Israeli Deputy Prime Minister David Levi disclosed, in a report submitted to the joint government Jewish Agency Settlement Committee, that the Israeli government approved the construction of 20 new settlements in the West Bank last week. A total of 21,600 settler families are needed for the colonies which will be situated in various parts of the occupied highlands.

The report said that Levi's housing ministry will pay special attention to Israeli settlement around Jerusalem, including the Gush Etzion settlement bloc south of the city and the Hebron hills. Special attention will also be devoted to the agriculturally rich Jordan valley area. The central and western mountians of the West Bank are to receive comparatively less attention, the report stated.

On settlement progress in the West Bank, Levi reported that as of January 11, 575 housing units were built in the 77 settlements and settlement-towns. Less than half — 5594 are occupied units and the rest, according to Levi, are in the last stages of construction.

The report said that between IS32 and IS35 billion (equivalent to US $870 million) were spent on housing construction alone, excluding basic infrastructure, such as roads, electricity, water and sewage systems. With the cost of infrastructure added, costs on an average 100 square-metre housing unit would cost between US $70-75,000, which is 20 percent more than the cost for similar housing units inside Israel's 1948 borders. Israeli newspapers attributed the increase to the higher costs of building on rough landscapes in the West Bank. Concerning the distribution of the housing units, the report showed that the majority, 6920 units, were built in the nine settlement-towns, 4954 units in 68 West Bank settlements, and 1150 units were added to Kiryat Arba settlement near Hebron. (Translation Al Quds, 29,4,83)

DUTCH PALESTINE COMMITTEE DEMANDS PRISONER RELEASE



FREE PALESTINIAN AND LEBANESE PRISONERS

The undersigned inhabitants of Holland, want to express their disquiet about the fate of thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese who have been arrested by the Israeli army since last June. According to many eyewitness accounts, including those from Israeli soldiers, these prisoners are held under alarming conditions. The Israeli authorities refuse to reveal the names and detention places of many of them.

At the same time they withhold these prisoners -- according to many testimonies (..) mainly civilians, and taken up in a completely arbitrary way — the legal protection as demanded by the Geneva Conventions (which have been ratified by Israel as well).

For this reason the undersigned appeal to the Israeli public to endeavour for the immediate release of all these prisoners.

(..) Note: We refer to the publications of the Centre d'Information sur les Prisonniers Palestiniens et Libanais Enlevés et Disparus, Paris 1982/1983.

שחררו את האסירים הפלסטינאים והלבנונים!

אנו החתומים מטה, תושבי הולנד, מבטאים את רצוננו לגורל אלפי פלסטינאים ולבנונים שנעצרו על ידי הצבא הישראלי מאז יוני.

לפי עדות ראיה של אנשים רבים, כולל חיילים ישראלים, תנאיהם מעוררים דאגה.

השלטונות הישראליים מסרבים למסור את שמותיהם ומקום המצאם של חלקם, ולא נותנים להם את הזכויות המוכרות באמנת ג'נבה — על פי שישראל חתמה עליה האכזר.

אנו פונים אל הציבור הישראלי לדרוש את שחרור האסירים הפלסטינאים והלבנונים.

A. Abels	T. van der Grinten	R. van Leeuwen	R. Schooneberk
P. Adriaanse	W. van der Grinten	E. Lehr	J. Schotman
Aler	D. Groenendijk	W. van Lieshout	W. Schröderer
T. Absengerst	R. Groenendijk	K.v.d. Linde	M. Schruer
H. van Amstel	C. Groenweg	A. van de Lir'den	

An advertisement signed by 600 Dutch citizens appealing for the release of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in Lebanon was published in the Israeli independent daily *Haaretz*, May 4. The ad appeared on the obituary page, with changes in wording imposed by the *Haaretz* editor.

The appeal was arranged by the Palestine Committee in Holland, which has been very active in protest against the Israeli invasion. According to a committee activist, the advertising cost was paid by the signatories themselves.

The signatories of the appeal expressed their 'disquiet about the fate of thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese who have been arrested by the Israeli army.' The statement quoted eyewitnesses including Israeli soldiers noting that the prisoners are held under "alarming' conditions.

The statement concluded by appealing to the Israeli public to work for the immediate release off all these prisoners. A member of the Palestine Committee in Holland told *Al Fajr* that the editor of *Haaretz* had refused to print the text of the ad as it was drafted by the signatories, stating categorically that the prisoners were arbitrarily arrested. The statement was then amended to read "according to many witnesses."

The Palestine Committee in Holland is one of the largest and most active of the Palestinian solidarity committees in Europe. The Committee now has nine branches throughout the country and over 90 activists. Among its activities this past year was the publication of a 'black book' on POWs in Lebanon including testimonies from released prisoners, Israeli soldiers and humanitarian workers. The committee also arranged for lectures on the subject of prisoners and invited Israeli lawyer Lea Tsemel and French lawyer Gerard de la Pradelle.

Immigration Second Only to Security

Two-thirds of Israel's 1982 immigrant population of 13,176 were settlers arriving from Western countries, according to figures released to the Knesset by Aharon Uzan, Israel's minister in charge of "absorption. Although the new figure was a paper increase of 14 percent over the number of immigrants in 1981, Israel still suffers a net population loss when emigration figures are subtracted. (Jewish demographics also reveal a low birth rate, compared to the Palestinian population, and an older median age.)

In the two-and-a-half hour discussion in the Knesset, speakers expressed genuine concern about the need to make immigration a higher government priority. Twelve Knesset members called the issue second only to security and criticised the Begin government for not discussing it in special session since taking office. According to *The Jerusalem Post*, May 3, all called for the establishment of a supreme *aliya* (immigration) and absorption authority or for a special immigration minister.

The 1982 total included a rise of 40 percent from Latin America to 2039, 30 percent from Western Europe to 3648 and 20 percent more from North America to 2848; 756 Jews left the USSR for Israel.

Israeli immigration law the famous law of return gives automatic citizenship to Jews from anywhere in the world. At the same time Palestinians find it virtually impossible to obtain permanent residency for foreign-born spouses, much less exercise the right of return for their own families.

To Shultz From Neturei Karta

The anti-Zionist ultra-Orthodox Jewish Neturei Karta movement sent a letter April 29 to US Secretary of State George Shultz demanding that the US stop trying to "preserve its interests at the expense of the rights of other peoples."

Representative of the seven-man supreme council of Neturei Karta, secretary Rabbi Moshe Hirsh, and Rabbi Mordechai Stern wrote in the memorandum: "We Palestine Jews wish to be separated from the Zionist establishment." The memorandum cautioned against a blind relationship between the Zionist state and the US: "We understand fully the importance the Zionist state plays in American global strategy but one must make sure not to go overboard in furthering this strategy at the expense of other peoples."

continued from page 11

Sharon

"The world view of Arik is — solutions by force, systematic harm to the Arabs. He has never been a partner in working out an agreement based on mutuality." **An officer who served with Sharon for several years.**

It is followed by a description of the massacre at Qibya:

"About six months later, he, as the commander of Unit 101, led the operation of Qibya (14.10.53), which ended with the deaths of 69 Palestinian civilians, including women and children who were killed when their houses were blown up. As a commander of the operation, Sharon must have known about the dozens of residents hiding in the houses but despite this he ordered them blown up. On his return Sharon reported that his force did not suffer casualties and that some 10 - 12 Jordanians (Palestinians) were killed... (but the next day) the atrocity was revealed; 69 Jordanians (Palestinians), half of them women and children, found their deaths in Qibya (a village 20 kilometres from Jerusalem) most of them under the ruins of houses."

In the framework of outlining Sharon's brutality the book presents a quote from *Yediot Ahronot* (29.12.82). "Lately testimony of military men in the Hebron district on the brutal directives of the defence ministry to the 'civil administration' people to act with iron fists and brutality against Arabs, were published."

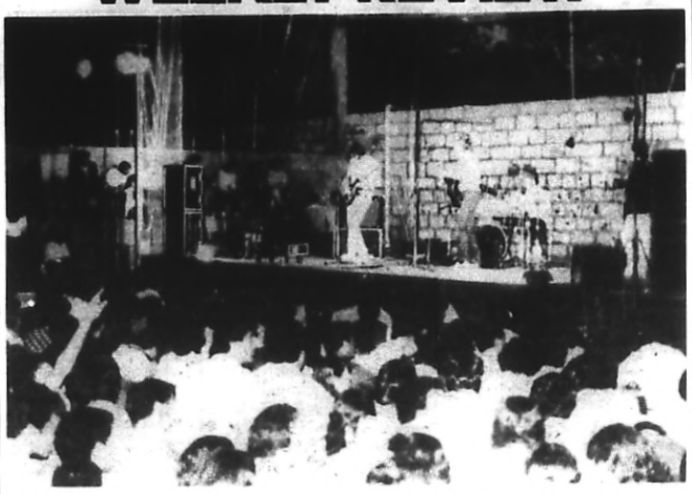
Another excerpt on the same subject was taken from the book by Michael Bar Zohar, Labour MK, about Israel's first prime minister David Ben Gurion. "But the character of 'man of blood' of Sharon was not manifested in the treatment of Arabs. In many cases Sharon showed a lack of sensitivity which is unacceptable in the army as the price for which our forces would suffer in order to be able to use force against the Arabs."

This attitude was also disclosed by his commanders. In a talk with Sharon before the Qibya operation Moshe Dayan said he realised his character and that he understood "he (Sharon) would insist on carrying out the task at any price." To prevent heavy losses in the ranks of the Israeli army he advised Sharon "not to be stubborn" if he found the task was going to be difficult "and to be satisfied with some houses and come back."

Reading the real career of Sharon takes the surprise out of the brutality of the invasion of Lebanon and the atrocities which were committed against the Palestinians there by him and his army.

Al Fajr Staff Congratulate Sami and Nawal al-Aboudi on the birth of their daughter, Beisan.

WEEKLY REVIEW



Over 2000 Palestinians crammed into a Bir Zeit University courtyar.! May 2, to attend a concert given by British rock group 'Magna Carta.' The concert the only one the group gave in the West Bank, was sponsored by the British Council and Bir Zeit University. The singers kept playing when individuals in kafiyehs climbe.! on stage during the concert waving huge Palestinian flags. A large flag was hoisted on a nearby pole and stayed up for the remainder of the concert. The concert was the first of its kind in the history of Bir Zeit. /JN

April 27, 1983

LEAGUES PAY OFF

The annual budget allocated to the Village Leagues in the occupied territories was last week IS100 million. It will be used, the Israeli press reports, to set up factories and to pay salaries to League members.

The papers said that this budget does not include the current military guards of the League members. They also revealed that the Village Leagues impose a "tax" on every person approaching them of JD5 10 and also on every person travelling to Jordan. The Leagues have collected around IS 35 million from these sources.

ONE MORE STONE

An Israeli was seriously wounded when stones were thrown at an Israeli bus in Beit Jala on its way from Kiryat Arba settlement to Jerusalem. Israeli forces have begun investigations into the incident.

NEW HIGH FOR FINE

WEST BANK The Israeli military court in Nablus imposed a fine of IS90,000 and 10 months suspended imprisonment on Palestinian Nadir Younis on a charge of throwing stones at an Israeli border guard vehicle.

ATTACK IN SIDON

BEIRUT Lebanese security forces said that armed elements of separatist Saad Haddad attacked the headquarters of the internal Lebanese security forces in Sidon in South Lebanon.

The sources said that the armed elements forced the soldiers inside the building to surrender their weapons and ammunition and a number of their military jeeps.

LAND GRAB I

TULKARM The Israeli authorities informed the mukhtar and residents of al-Ras village of the decision to confiscate 1225 dunums of village land.

LAND GRAB II

BEITOUNIA The Israeli authorities confiscated 1000 dunums from Beitounia in the Balou' region. The authorities put up barbed wire to prevent landowners from entering their land and harvesting crops. The Committee for the Defence of the Land has decided to take the matter to the High Court to stop the consfiscation and get the decision cancelled.

ISRAELIS BOMB EACH OTHER

Israeli security forces found a large explosive device in the car of an Israeli youth with a police record in Jerusalem. They defused it. The police believe that it was put there to settle underworld accounts.

ISRAELIS STILL IN BEQA'A

BEIRUT UPI - Phalangist Radio said that the eight Israeli prisoners held by the Palestinian forces have been sent to a number of detention centres in the Beqa'a valley, eastern Lebanon.

CURFEW I

HALHOUL The military authorities imposed a curfew on the main street in the town. They said an Israeli bus had been stoned.

CURFEW II

NABLUS The authorities imposed a curfew on Balata refugee camp near Nablus.

LAND GRAB III

BETHLEHEM Battir residents have presented an appeal to the military appeals committee concerning their 760 dunum land threatened with confiscation.

DHAHRIYEH WALLS

DHAHRIYEH The Israeli authorities have built a two metre high wall around secondary schools in the town in an attempt to stop stones being thrown at Israeli vehicles passing by.

April 28 1983

FREE POWS

Felicia Langer applied to the Israeli High Court for the release of Salah Ta'mari, Salim Hawseh and his brother Afif, who are POWs in South Lebanon. They were arrested during the first few days of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

CURFEW III

Israeli authorities imposed a curfew on al-Azza refugee camp near Bethlehem after an Israeli soldier suffered facial injuries after stones were thrown at an Israeli bus. Sources claim that the soldier is in Hadassah Hospital, Jerusalem, for treatment.

AIN AL-HILWEH MURDER

TEL AVIV, BEIRUT According to Israel Radio the corpse of an inhabitant of the Ain al Hilweh refugee camp was found in Sidon, South Lebanon.

BEQA'A TENSION

Tension continues to rise in Beqa'a valley, Lebanon, due to increasing military activity. Firing incidents continued at intervals. Israeli war planes also flew above the city of Tripoli and the two camps of al-Badawi and Nahr al-Barid in north Lebanon. Anti-aircraft batteries on the ground opened up on the planes and forced them to leave Lebanese Radio said.

15 PERCENT UNEMPLOYED IN NAZARETH

Official statistics issued by the Nazareth municipality stated that unemployment has reached 15 percent, the highest in Israel. A statistics bulletin stated that the economic difficulties the city is experiencing are the result of the Israeli government's policy. It mainly affects seasonal workers such as farmers and construction workers.

FOUR ISRAELIS WOUNDED

Four Israeli soldiers were wounded after a car bomb exploded near the military vehicle they were in at the time in Sidon. Israeli radio states that the soldiers were taken to hospitals for treatment and Israeli authorities are investigating the incident.

April 29 1983

LAND GRAB IV

AL-BIREH Israeli bulldozers started preparation of a road in the Jib valley to provide easy routes between Givat Zev and Givat settlements. The road will be approximately one-and-a-half kilometres long and 40 metres wide.

YOUTH CLUB PLEA

KALANDIA People from Kalandia refugee camp asked for the local youth centre to be reopened. It was closed a year ago after a showing of the film *Omar al-Mukhtar*.

35 DAYS FOR REFUSENIK

TEL AVIV - Daniel Timmerman, son of Argentine writer Jacobo Timmerman, was imprisoned for 35 days for refusing to serve in Lebanon.

This is the second time Timmerman has been sentenced for refusal to join his unit in Lebanon.

BAKERY CLOSED

NABLUS The military authorities declared al-Dahan bakery closed for 90 days. The owners were authorised to remove all stock before the closure.

SHOPS CLOSED

NABLUS Three stores in Balata were closed by military authorities until August 1, 'for security reasons.''

FOREST BURNER JAILED

HAIFA The central court in Haifa sentenced Yousef Hussein Abu Rayya, 32, to one year imprisonment for burning a forest area near Sakhnin village. He pleaded not guilty.

ISRAELI KILLED

BEIRUT An Israeli military spokesman announced that one Israeli was killed and three wounded in an explosion about 10 kilometres south of Damour near an Israeli military roadblock. Whether the explosion was a result of a mine or bomb is still unknown. Lebanese State Radio said "many' were killed or wounded as a result of the explosion. The Israeli authorities combed the area looking for clues.

An Israeli spokesman also said that another separate blast went off in the commercial centre at Tyre.

April 30, 1983

CLUB ARSONED

An Israeli-owned night club, the 'Jerusalem Gold Earring,' was burned down. It is located near Thouri, East Jerusalem, and had received several threats. Two previous attempts to torch it were made a few months ago and last week.

BUDGET DISCUSSIONS

HEBRON The Hebron education department council held a meeting in the city with the participation of Mustafa Natshe, acting-mayor of Hebron, and Adnan Salah, chairman of education council. They discussed next year's budget, the need for new schools in Hebron and placing the Musa Ben Nasr school under the jurisdiction of the education council.

EXTRA CLASSES

RAMALLAH The Private Schools Teachers Union called on teachers in the Ramallah area to reschedule classes in order to compensate students for days missed as a result of recent school closures.

May 1, 1983

CURFEW IV

NABLUS -- The security authorities put a curfew on the old city, nearby commercial districts, the Hussein centre and Ain Beit al-Ma camp after youths demonstrated and threw stones at Israeli security forces. The curfew on Balata camp has now lasted for five days.

COSMETICS PRODUCTION

AL-BIREH — The Jerusalem medical company opened a new branch in al-Bireh for the production of cosmetics. The company invited doctors, dentists and pharmacists for a display of products.

LAND GRAB V

RAMALLAH — The military authorities confiscated land from Rafat village and forbade its owners from entering it.

JORDAN REJECTED PLO REP.

The Jordanian authorities opposed the appointment of Azat Abu al-Rab as head of the PLO office in Amman. They cited "security reasons."

TANK HIT

TEL AVIV — An Israeli military spokesman stated that a mine went off under an Israeli tank near Bishmar village in South Lebanon. One soldier was injured.

The Israeli patrols were going over the area very slowly preparing for Israeli tank traffic to pass. This is the second time in three days that an Israeli tank was hit.

STUDENT FROM HEBRON JAILED

HEBRON — The military court sentenced Belal Said Belal Tamine to seven and a half years in jail for security reasons. He is a student in the *tawjihi* class at Tariq Ben Ziad High School.

May 2, 1983

LAND GRAB V

A new settlement Yatir, will be established in the mountains south of Hebron and east of the Beer Sheba road, according to the Hebrew press.

The settlement will immediately house 120 families with expansion for 80 more families.

FIVE MORE REFUSENIKS

The Israeli military court sentenced five Israeli soldiers to 35 days prison for refusing to serve in Lebanon. A spokesman for (Yesh Gvul) There is a Limit' movement said the soldiers are two lieutenants, and three soldiers.

DEMONSTRATORS JAILED

The military court in Nablus sentenced seven youths from Burkin near Jenin, to two months imprisonment and fined them IS45,000 for demonstrating and throwing rocks at Israeli cars.

MEDICAL TAX RAID

HEBRON — Many Hebron doctors have been asked to present themselves at the income tax bureau in Hebron for tax assessment. Doctors spokesmen said if punitive taxes are levied their union is willing to take the issue to court.

CITRUS CRISIS

TULKARM — Owners of citrus groves in Tulkarm area are asking permission to uproot their trees because of the fall in the prices of citrus in Amman and on the local market.

May 3 1983

HABBASH IN USSR

MOSCOW — TASS Soviet news agency said George Habbash general-secretary of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, left Moscow at the end of a seven-day official visit to the Soviet Union. Habbash was invited by the Soviet Asian-African Solidarity Committee. A Palestinian source revealed that Habbash's talks centered around Palestinian strategic movement against imperialism based on the 16th PNC resolutions and the failure of the Jordanian-Palestinian talks.

Students of UNRWA schools hold sit-in at UNRWA headquarters in Sheikh Jarrah, Jerusalem, May 4/SF

SHAKA'A WATCHED

Israel Radio reported that the Israeli authorities renewed their 24-hour surveillance of the elected mayor of Nablus, Bassam Shaka'a.

MAY 1 CELEBRATIONS RAIDED

TULKARM — Israeli border guards forcibly entered the labour unions' office in Tulkarm arresting many of the youths present.

EXAM PROTEST

RAMALLAH — Students in West Bank institutes reiterated their refusal to take the comprehensive exam which Jordan and the civil administration is trying to introduce. The latest protest came after students at the teachers institute in Ramallah were required to sign a referendum stating willingness to designate students for the exam.

All but five of the student teachers announced they would not sign.

CURFEWS AND CHECKS

BETHLEHEM — Military personnel searched several houses adjacent to the main Bethlehem road in Dheisheh camp after Israeli cars were stoned.

The authorities removed the curfew from an entrance to Beit Jala. It was imposed last Friday after Israeli cars were stoned.

"Hands off our universities and educational institutions' reads a poster recently distributed by the Progressive Students Bloc at Hebron University and the city s Polytechnic. The two institutions have been closed by the Israeli authorities since last March 10 and 11 respectively.

SCHOOLS OPENED

Schools in Nablus reopened after a two-month closure. Rawda Technical High School, Mazuz al-Masri and Qadri Tuqan, all reopened their doors.

CLOSED SHOPS

The authorities closed a gas station in Burqa village near Nablus for three months. The authorities also closed Zakariyya al-Sahan bakery in Nablus, arresting the owner, who supports a family of 12.

continued from page 16

Torture in Lebanon

into the cell with the Philippino woman. One of them asked for something to eat. Paola, who had also had nothing to eat or drink since she was arrested the night before, decided not to ask for anything. The answer was brutal: 'You are not at a cocktail party here. You are prisoners. We don't give prisoners food and drink.'

That night, in the room on the ground floor, Paola could hear the flashes of rock music but not the screaming — the torture room was too far away. Throughout the night the guards tried to create a climate of tension, turning the key in the lock at regular intervals. The three women passed the night lying on a single cover belonging to one of the Philippinos, spread out on the dirty, hard floor.

The next morning Paola was informed of her imminent expulsion from Lebanon. Until that moment all her requests to see someone from the Italian Embassy, the command of the Italian forces or her colleagues at AP had been categorically rejected. Fportunately, concerned at her absence, her colleagues managed to contact Paola's neighbours who had witnessed her arrest. They gave the alarm to the Italian Embassy who in turn alerted Lebanese Premier and Interior Minister Shafiq Wazzan. How much Wazzan counts in today's Lebanese establishment, however, may be deduced from what happened. In violation of all promises he gave, Paola was whisked from the interrogation centre through a back door, taken under armed guard to the airport and there forced onto a plane for Rome. She was not allowed to meet the diplomatic representatives of her government who was made to wait all this while at the main entrance of the interrogation centre. Later the Italian Embassy was told that Paola "had not committed any offence, but was expelled due to her contacts with undesirable elements."

News reaching Rome following Paola's expulsion tells of further threats against reporters in Beirut, of anonymous phone calls to Lebanese and foreign journalists known for their straightforward, honest reporting, of acts of intimidation against the few remaining foreign nationals — medical personnel, social workers, representatives of humanitarian aid organisations — working for and with the Palestinian population. News reaching here also tells of a new wave of forced evictions of Palestinian refugees from the last war who are being forced to seek shelter in the now enormously reduced areas of the camps.

Over one half of what was formally the area of Shatila camp has now been formally annexed by the Lebanese government to the nearby stadium. Finally, as arrests of Palestinian continue and the Lebanese army escalates activities inside the Beirut camps, the Lebanese security services, who already ape their big-brothers in every aspect of their activities — from bomb-laying to create provocations, to torture, from illegal arrests to the arrogant treatment of foreigners — have now taken to a new innovation: attempts to create committees of Village League-type collaborators inside the camps of Shatila and Burj al-Barajneh. Says a message received from a Palestinian friend in Beirut: *"Our goal, for the next two or three weeks, is simply to survive. As a collectivity and as individuals."*

AP JOURNALIST WITNESS TO TORTURE LEBANESE GOVERNMENT SECURITY CENTRE

EYEWITNESS REPORT OF TORTURE IN LEBANON

by Livia Rokach
Special to Al Fajr

ROME, May 3. The first western eyewitness account of systematic torture of Lebanese and Palestinian prisoners by the Lebanese authorities was made public this week. Paola Crociani, 29, an Italian photojournalist for Associated Press was held incommunicado for over 36 hours at Mathaf Interrogation Centre of the Lebanese *surete* in East Beirut, then expelled from Lebanon, April 22. She told *Al Fajr* she was made to witness the maltreatment of hundreds of prisoners in the centre and listen to the torture of some. She said her captors evidently hoped to intimidate her into revealing names and data of Palestinian and pro-Palestinian contacts, including journalists, with whom she was suspected to have been in contact. Paola, a highly respected professional whose photos of war-devastated Lebanon, bombed hospitals, massacres in Palestinian refugee camps and more recently the shooting of Palestinian women protesting the prolonged detention at al-Ansar of their husbands, sons and brothers, have appeared in newspapers and magazines all over the world, was abducted from her home in West Beirut on Wednesday night, April 20, at 10:30 pm.

Loaded onto a jeep by four armed Lebanese *surete* agents in plainclothes, she was taken to the Mathaf Centre where she was first shut in a room with two young Philippino women. They are immigrant workers who had been there two days without food or water. "After a while," Paola says, "they came and took me out into a corridor, opened one door and made me look into the place for just one minute, before closing it again. There was a medium-sized room packed with layer upon layer of human bodies and frightened, exhausted faces which looked up at me. There were four or five hundred prisoners heaped over one another for lack of space. It was evident that they had been there, in that state, for days and days, without any food or anything to drink. The air was unbreathable, suffocating, a solid block of stench which covered one like a huge wave as soon as the door was opened. These men were kept there like animals. Evidently prevented from going to the toilet for long periods of time, humiliated, worn out... Even in the very short time in which I was made to look, I could see that there were Palestinians and Lebanese and others from all over: Pakistanis, Philippinos, Somalis, poor immigrant workers... a nightmarish scene.

"Then the agents accompanying me closed the door and said, 'We wanted to show you so that you understand we are treating you with respect... as an exception, not according to the rule, which is what you have just seen...'"

It was past midnight when Paola was taken for interrogation upstairs. "When the interrogator, who I later discovered was the boss of the place, walked into the room, I couldn't believe my eyes. He was like a scarecrow taken out of a horror comic strip. Short, dressed in a dark suit, with dark glasses and an ugly expression on his face. He immediately started shouting at me: 'I know all about you. There is nothing about you that I don't know!' I had asked to be interrogated in English, which I speak better than French, but he 'knew' that I speak French 'perfectly.'

"I told him very calmly that since he knew everything about me perhaps there was nothing we needed to talk about. He was enraged by my calm and refusal to be frightened. Then, for a couple of hours, he interrogated me: about my friendship with Arab colleagues, Palestinian or pro-Palestinian, where they were, what they were doing, whether I had sold them any photos. He was getting nowhere with me so he started interrogating me about my work: why did I make such 'specific' photos?

A scream such as that of an animal in great pain, and always... that he knew nothing, and he was crying.

He repeated the word 'specific' many times, clearly because he didn't want to pronounce the word 'Palestinian.' What and who made me take such photos? Where did I take them – he wanted to know the name of every street, corner or square where I had ever taken a photo, and the names of persons, especially in the camps, with whom I might have had contact while taking these photos. Or who might have given me information.

"I tried to explain some basics of journalism to him and that there is no 'Avenue de Paris' in a refugee camp, no one knows the names of streets because there are no streets really... He insisted for a very long time about my 'specific' photos – I could understand how much it disturbed him to have some events documented with undeniable images. Then he ordered his assistant to take away my handbag and to begin to search it, he said, for the keys of all the apartments which Palestinians who had left Beirut had left with me, according to him... He found no keys, except those of my motorbike, so finally he got up and told his assistant that he had to go downstairs 'to make that man Yahyah... (I didn't get his full name) talk' ...

"Shortly after that it began. The torture room was just beneath the one in which they shut me, closing the door from outside. As of then, and for the rest of the night, I could hear terrible crying and groaning of men who were obviously subject to torture. One especially, as the hours went by I could recognise his voice, it was probably that Yahyah he was referring to, who continued to scream in Arabic: 'In God's Name! In God's Name! I know nothing, leave me, please leave me alone!' At regular intervals, close together, there were spurts of very loud music, very rapid spurts of loud rock-type music, as if to cover some other sound. And as soon as the music would stop – every flash lasted maybe a minute or two, maybe less – the terrible screaming of the man would come up again. A scream or a rattle such as that of an animal in great pain, and always repeating the same words – that he knew nothing, that in the name of God would they leave him in peace, and he was crying. And then again the music would start all over again. This went on for hours, until about 6:00 am. I could also hear the constant whistling of whips – the whips I would see the next day in the hands of the interrogators walking up and down in the corridors – followed by more cries... That torture room certainly seemed equipped for its purpose!"

The next morning Paola was made to go downstairs into a room the door of which was left open. It overlooked a corridor and a room opposite where other prisoners were being interrogated. As interrogators equipped with steel whips covered with leather strips tied and hanging from both sides marched up and down the corridor she could see through the half-opened door of the room opposite hers prisoners lined up, bare footed, and one interrogator with heavy white boots with special heels about eight - 10 centimeters high. He followed his questioning by trampling hard on their bare feet with the heels. "Later I saw them trying to put on their sandals, but they could not, their feet were swollen in such a horrible way.

US Employee Tortured

One of these prisoners, who must have passed out, was brought into my room to rest for a few minutes and made to stand near the door. His head and face were also completely swollen, so much so that he could not open his eyes. His eyelids were sunk so deep into the swollen flesh. Then the interrogator came and slapped his face, shouting 'I told you to keep your eyes open!' The prisoner made an effort, but he couldn't open his eyes, so the man slapped him again, and then took him back into the interrogation room. I didn't see him again."

The man was a Palestinian. Paola overheard the interrogators say that he had worked in the US Embassy and was one of the survivors of the explosion there. "The bastard,' they were saying, 'with all those people killed there a dirty Palestinian had to survive!'" Since the embassy bombing, and although perfectly aware that – as the media throughout the world has reported – only a highly specialised secret service could carry out that bombing, the Lebanese authorities have exploited this new pretext to arrest many Palestinians, especially in the camps. Although no figures are available, not a day passes without groups of Palestinians being arrested and subjected to atrocious pressures in an attempt to make them "confess" Palestinian responsibility for the attack. This probably to justify *a priori* a mass expulsion, or new massacres, rumours of the preparation for which have been running through Beirut now for several weeks. The prisoners Paola saw beaten, trampled and whipped at the interrogation centre were most probably from among those arrested in connection with these events.

There were four or five hundred prisoners heaped over one another for lack of space...

Preparation

The beatings and trampling were carried out in the mornings, Paola says, and were evidently just preparatory phases. Until 1:00 pm the place was full of clerks going around with files administrative employees moving around the place. A tiny coffee stand was set up for the latters' benefit. In short – there were too many witnesses. In the afternoon the place emptied and the tortures began, continuing and escalating through the night.

In the afternoon Paola was made to sit in a chair facing at a close distance an interrogator and a 23-year-old Palestinian who owned a video cassette stand at Shatila camp. The interrogation centred on the video cassettes of the Sabra and Shatila massacres which he admitted selling. Did he know who took the photos contained in the cassette? Did he know Paola? Did he see her take photos in the camp? Or "with her friends?" The young man repeatedly denied the allegations.

"At a certain point he said: 'no, in all honesty, I never...' " Then the interrogator began to slap his face and insult him: "'A Palestinian is not allowed to speak of honesty. He doesn't know what it is!'"

Then the interrogator asked him who perpetrated the Sabra and Shatila massacres, attempting to force him into saying the *Kataeb*. But the young man insisted: 'As everybody knows the Saad Haddad men and the Israelis...'

'Would you like us to hand you over to the Israelis, so you could go back to your country? Didn't you say you came from Jaffa?' the interrogator asked ironically.

"'Actually I am more Lebanese than you are, seeing that I was born here and my family came to Lebanon in 1948,' the young man exploded." The interrogator "he was clearly a Phalangist," says Paola, "They all are, of course, down there at *surete* but he was a particularly militant one, a 20-year-old Phalangist, younger than the Palestinian he interrogated" – punched the victim's face with a clenched fist: 'Here you should know that no Palestinian had the right to think of himself as a Lebanese or to think that he can go on living in this country.'

Then they took him away and brought another Palestinian, and the whole scene was repeated over again. Meanwhile in other parts of the same room other interrogations were going on. "There was a Palestinian family, father, mother and daughter. The daughter had a passport issued by the *surete*, the same office where we were being held. She was made to pay a large sum of money to obtain that passport. She got it through someone who had access to an employee of the office. But now they claimed the passport was false... They were held there until late in the evening and then told to come back the next day. They were frightened and desperate."

Tortures Repeated

That evening Paola was put back

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